

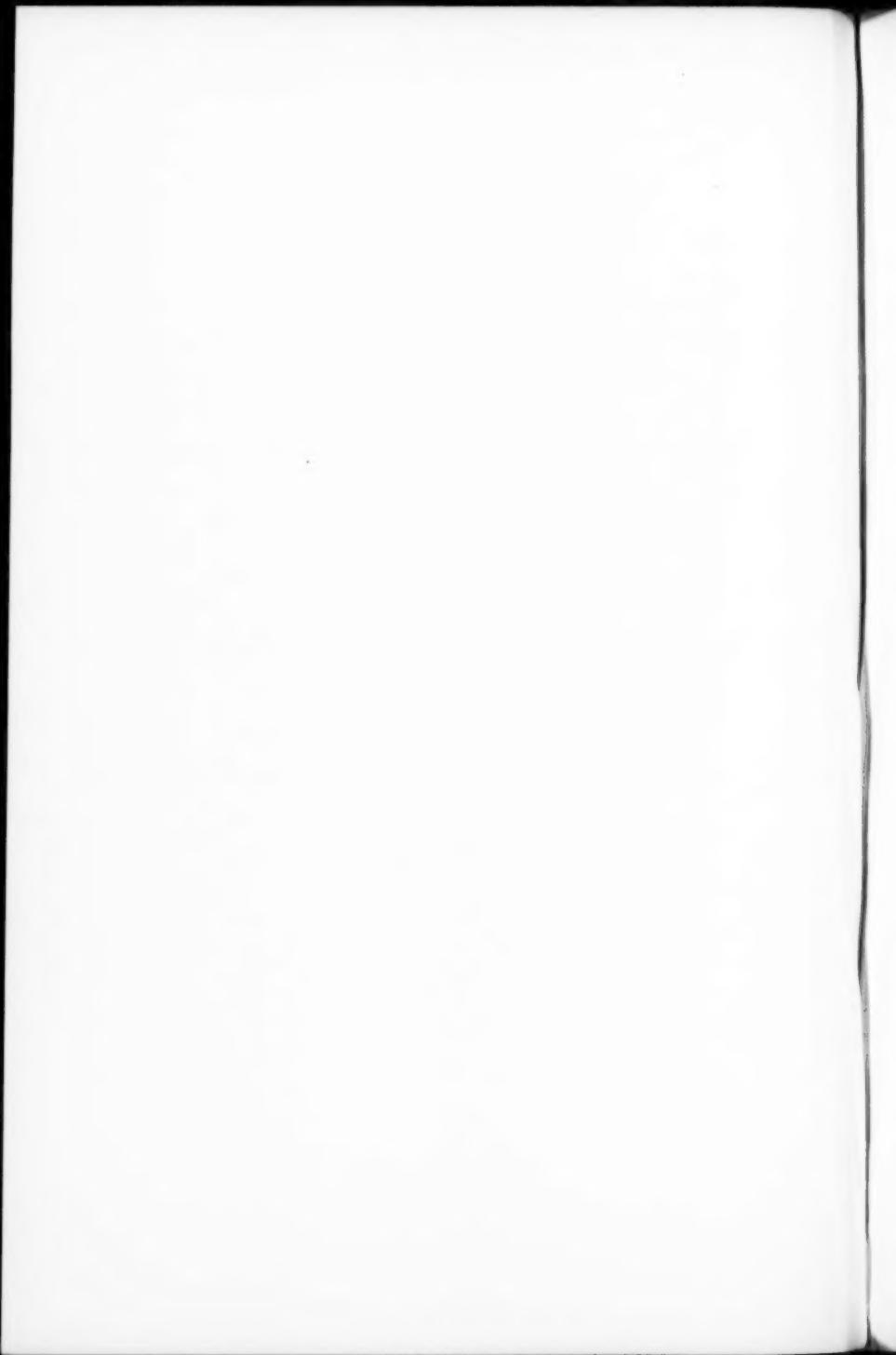
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MYTHICAL CITIES OF SOUTHWESTERN MINNESOTA

When the history student seeking material relating to extreme southwestern Minnesota first turns to the census of 1857 he must invariably be astonished. Any investigations he may have made previously have led him to believe that the area was little more than an uninhabited wilderness at that time. And yet, in the census he finds statistics of flourishing towns with established industries spread evenly across that section of the state. Census figures, usually prosaic, at once become intriguing. There is a hasty search for further information. Then follow disillusion and disappointment. Figures *do* lie—even United States government statistics. The pioneer inhabitants of the southwestern Minnesota counties are fiction. They lived in mythical cities. The census schedules are a result of over-zealousness in Minnesota's first election of state officials.

A special session of the territorial legislature called in the spring of 1857 to dispose of a Congressional land grant for railroad building found time to create counties from the raw and unsurveyed lands in southwestern Minnesota. Land speculation, at dizzy heights at the time, was responsible for the establishing of these counties. It had increased by leaps and bounds in Minnesota Territory since 1854, with St. Paul as the headquarters of the speculators. A pet scheme was to sell town lots in cities that existed only on paper. Easterners and gullible immigrants were buyers. It was a highly profitable business, since for a few dollars of land scrip a speculator could claim a section of land and, after giving the location an attractive name, he might sell town lots at such prices as unfortunate victims could be induced to pay. Because land speculation was profitable, it attracted many of the leading men in the ter-

rity. If the speculators' consciences hurt them, they were able to put up with that inconvenience.

The land schemers possessed sufficient influence to bring about the passage of desired legislation in the territorial legislature. Indeed, many of the biggest promoters were legislators. By memorializing Congress to establish mail service to certain named points in Minnesota, the legislators subtly advertised cities that existed only on the plat books in the speculators' offices. Paper cities were established by legislative acts.

And so it was that promoters, anxious to give wild southwestern Minnesota a civilized appearance, had counties established by the legislature. Martin, Jackson, Nobles, Cottonwood, Murray, Rock, and Pipestone counties were established on May 23, 1857.¹ County seats for the first three were named in the legislative act. A group of Democrats, organized as the Dakota Land Company, expected to profit by the sale of town lots in proposed county seats in the remaining four counties. Other and more audacious plans were laid by this company.² The bubble of speculation burst in the autumn of 1857 close on the heels of a money panic in the East. Town lots could not be disposed of at any price. The Minnesota speculators were unable to transmit their enthusiasm to prospective purchasers.

Not often, if ever, in the history of Minnesota has partisan politics been so active as it was in 1857. Minnesota was about to be born as a state and the rivalry of Democratic and Republican leaders for control of the new state government was hot and bitter. The constitutional convention, which opened in mid-July, was marked by skirmishes between the parties and tended to strengthen party

¹ *Laws*, 1857, extra session, p. 66.

² Samuel J. Albright, "The First Organized Government of Dakota," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 135. See also a group of documents relating to the "Settlement of Sioux Falls," one of the Dakota Land Company's projects, in *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 6:133-180 (1912).

lines. Party conventions followed the constitutional convention.

At the Democratic convention held in St. Paul there was surprise for some of the delegates in the appearance of men representing counties in southwestern Minnesota that had been established just a few weeks before. From Murray there was F. J. DeWitt; N. R. Brown hailed from Cottonwood; W. E. Brown was from Nobles; S. Lester represented Jackson; and George Reed was the delegate from Martin. N. R. Brown was able to present credentials to the convention and thus avoid the scrutiny of the delegates, but the others from southwest counties were promptly challenged. Delegates from the older counties protested the seating of the southwestern representatives. They pointed out that the four men—at least three of whom were members of the Dakota Land Company—lacked credentials.³

Then William Pitt Murray, party leader and one of the largest land speculators, took the floor. It was true, he agreed, that no conventions had been held in these counties, but this was only because word of the state convention had reached the frontier settlements too late. All the challenged delegates, declared Murray, were *bona fide* residents of the counties which they claimed to represent. Hearing of the convention at a late date, the delegates from the southwest had at once volunteered their services and had immediately set out for the seat of convention. Following his eloquent plea, Murray moved that the southwest delegates be seated. Francis Baasen of Brown County, hailing from the edge of the frontier and qualified to speak with authority, arose in the convention to support Murray's statements and seconded the motion. J. S. Norris of Washington County also seconded it. Among the convention delegates unaffected by Murray's plea was William

³ *Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul), September 16, 1857. N. R. Brown probably is Nathaniel R. Brown, a brother of Joseph R. Brown, the well-known Minnesota pioneer. See *ante*, 2: 497 n.

Lochren of Hennepin, who moved that the motion be tabled. Though he found some support, Murray's motion carried and the southwest delegates were seated.⁴

It should be explained that in Minnesota the Democratic party of the late fifties was dominated by a faction popularly known as "Moccasin Democrats." Fur-traders and their henchmen formed the nucleus of the group—hence the name. Dependent as they were for their very existence upon political dispensations, it is natural that Indian traders should align themselves with the party consistently in power. From experience the traders had come to look upon political position as an opportunity to exploit. Others with the same viewpoint joined the Moccasin faction. Federal appointees gave the group support and the Dakota Land Company was an ally. Many a rank and file Democrat protested the domination of the Moccasin group, but the reformers lacked leadership. Brave, vigorous, and hard-fisted, with dominance an essential quality, the traders furnished the brains of the party. Eventually, however, the Democrats overthrew the Moccasin faction.

At the Democratic convention Henry H. Sibley gained the nomination for governor and became the party's standard bearer. Baasen, who had aided in the seating of the southwest delegates, won the nomination for secretary of state. The choice of the Republicans for the governorship was Alexander Ramsey, an ex-Whig and the first territorial governor. The fight to elect Minnesota's first state officials was on! Party leaders assumed that a victory for either party in the first election might mean that party's control of state politics for some years to come. Nothing that might bring victory was left undone. Every candidate faced a barrage of vituperation from the opposition. It was admitted by leaders of both parties that the vote would be close.

Following the election, held on October 13, 1857, the

⁴ *Pioneer and Democrat*, September 16, 1857.

returns trickled in slowly. First one party assumed the lead, then the other. A week went by, two weeks, and still it was not certain who had won. The Democrats, who had celebrated Sibley's victory upon the strength of early returns, became less confident as time went on. Ramsey was overtaking Sibley. With almost complete returns from the older counties of the territory tabulated, the *Minnesotian* of St. Paul, unofficial Republican spokesman, on October 26 gleefully announced that Ramsey had been elected. Following the custom of the day, the headlines were conservative. A plentiful supply of exclamation marks was considered sufficient to give the emphasis required for any occasion. The *Pioneer and Democrat*, to which the Democrats looked for leadership, reluctantly admitted the probable defeat of Sibley, yet found solace in the indicated election of other Democratic nominees.

But the battle was not yet over. At the top of the first column on the editorial page of the *Pioneer and Democrat* on October 28 there appeared the following special correspondence, signed "B.":

NEW ULM, BROWN Co. Oct. 25

I have just received news from the Southern part of our former County which was divided by the last Legislature into different counties. The votes reported to me are as follows:

	Ramsey	Sibley
Murray County		75
Rock County		37
Cottonwood County,		
Cottonwood Precinct	2	52
Sulphur Springs Precinct		26
Martin County		31
	—	—
	2	221

Sibley's Majority, 219

Other counties yet remain to be heard from, which will increase the Democratic Majority.

Republicans were inclined to scoff at the returns reported in the New Ulm dispatch. The *Minnesotian* indulged in sarcasm and incidentally jibed Charles E. Flandrau, Demo-

cratic candidate for justice of the supreme court. Earlier in the year Inkpaduta and his renegade band had murdered settlers at Spirit Lake in Iowa and in Jackson County. Flandrau, who was Indian agent at the time, had sought to capture Inkpaduta with the aid of annuity Sioux, but had failed. The murderers had gone unpunished. "The *Pioneer* . . . publishes some returns from what it calls Murray, Rock, Martin and Cottonwood Counties," jeered the *Minnesotian* on October 30. In commenting on the preponderance of Democratic votes it published the following remarks: "Since the exploits of Inkpaduta last spring, we did not expect to find many Republicans in that locality, but we are greatly surprised to find his band able to cast so many votes, especially since it was reported that a number of them had been killed during the summer by Flandrau's annuity Indians."

The news dispatch from New Ulm—as if the last sentence thereof was an omen—seemed to provoke a flood of returns from wilderness precincts. From far-off Pembina, the domain of the untameable Joseph Rolette, came hundreds of votes for Sibley and Democracy. Later a few precincts in the wilds reported overwhelming Republican majorities, but the Democrats quickly outdistanced the Republicans.⁵

On November 3, the *Pioneer and Democrat* was able to shout: "Henry H. Sibley Elected Governor!!!!" With the announcement was published an abstract of the official vote as compiled by the secretary of the territory. Included in the tabulation were:

	SIBLEY	RAMSEY
Cottonwood	78	2
Murray	75	0
Martin	31	0
Rock	37	0

⁵ *Minnesotian* (St. Paul), October 31, November 3, 9, 11, 16, 19; *Pioneer and Democrat*, October 31, November 12, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.

At this turn of events Republicans set up a cry of fraud. With their charges of fraud came counter charges from the Democrats, who declared that many of the returns with large Republican majorities were illegal. Throughout November and into December the verbal war raged.

A special canvassing board composed of territorial Governor Samuel A. Medary and Joseph R. Brown, Democrats, and Thomas J. Galbraith, Republican, sought to name the winning candidates by passing on the vote cast, and before the end of the year the entire Democratic ticket was found to be elected. Among the hundreds of votes thrown out by the board were those reported from Murray, Cottonwood, Rock, and Martin. Sibley's final majority over Ramsey was just 240.⁶

The votes from the southwestern counties were counted, however, in the compilation that resulted in the election of the Democrat, W. W. Kingsbury, as territorial delegate over Charles McClure, Republican. Under territorial law, December 2 was the last day the votes cast for territorial delegates could be canvassed. Accordingly on that date Charles L. Chase, secretary of the territory, scanned the official vote and certified the election of Kingsbury. The secretary included the following returns in the reckoning:

	KINGSBURY	McCLURE
Murray	59	0
Cottonwood	46	0
Rock	30	0
Martin	27	0 ⁷

During November, when the party leaders were shouting fraud at one another, the Republicans made a discovery. By proclamation, on September 21, Governor Medary had established some two score election precincts. A few of the precincts were actual voting places, but by far the greater number of them were names of proposed towns and

⁶*Pioneer and Democrat*, December 19, 1857.

⁷*Pioneer and Democrat*, December 3, 1857.

precincts never heard of before or since. Among the precincts named in the proclamation were: Watonwan, Sulphur Springs, and Bad Track in Cottonwood County; Council City and Oasis in Murray County; Pipestone in Pipestone County; Wakeeta in Rock County; Fairmont in Martin County; Jackson in Jackson County; and Gretchtown in Nobles County.⁸ Though Governor Medary actually proclaimed these places to be voting precincts, he did so in a manner that would scarcely fit the dictionary definition of the word "proclamation." The newspapers, the only medium for the dissemination of news, in all likelihood were not informed of the proclamation.

It is plain that the person requesting the establishment of these precincts had knowledge of the region and of proposed town sites therein, even though his geography was somewhat hazy and his spelling faulty. Fairmont, Jackson, and Gretchtown were the names of the county seats established by legislative act for the counties of Martin, Jackson, and Nobles, respectively. "Wakeeta" in Rock County is a puzzle unless it was the name of an Indian village. It is a Sioux word meaning "to seek for." Pipestone, like the county, was named for the red stone.⁹ Oasis in Murray County received its name from the town site of Great Oasis, projected by the Dakota Land Company. Council City is a misspelling of Conwell City, a paper town established by legislative act near the present Currie. In a dense growth of timber on the Redwood River, now the site of Lynd in Lyon County, was what was known as "Bad Track's Indian village." Sulphur Springs was intended to be Saratoga Springs, a Dakota Land Company town site on the Cottonwood River south of the present Amiret in

* Executive Journal, September 21, 1857, in the Governor's Archives in the custody of the Minnesota Historical Society.

* Medary's proclamation antedated the naming and platting of Pipestone City, as the present city of Pipestone was originally called, by nearly a score of years. A careful search of available historical material fails to reveal that the naming of Pipestone City in 1876 was influenced by the name given to the election precinct.

Lyon County, which, because of the copious springs at that point, was named for the springs in New York state. Government surveys had made little progress in the southwest corner of the state in the late fifties and a lack of maps, perhaps, accounts for placing Saratoga Springs and Bad Track in Cottonwood County. The Dakota Land Company considered Saratoga Springs in Cottonwood and had proposed that town-site speculation for the county seat.¹⁰ The Watonwan precinct in Cottonwood may have been named for the stream of that name.

When, on December 18, 1857, the *Minnesotian* and Republicans charged Joseph R. Brown, erstwhile fur-trader and then a Democratic leader, with having forged the vote of Murray, Cottonwood, Martin, and Rock counties, they were able to produce some circumstantial, though convincing, evidence. The day after Medary's precinct proclamation, September 22, 1857, the following letter was dispatched to Brown by the governor's private secretary, Edward M. McCosh:

Enclosed please find proclamations establishing some election precincts, in accordance with the request of the residents of the different Counties in which they are situated.

By direction of the Governor I forward them to you in order that they may reach their destinations more speedily.¹¹

The Republicans charged that Brown had dispatched the infamous message signed "B" from New Ulm, and this was not denied. The irrepressible Brown had gone from Henderson to New Ulm shortly before the election and had there acted as a judge of election. The election returns from the four southwest counties, and from Renville as well, were not certified by judges of election. They had merely been indorsed as correct by the register of Brown County. The same Brown, sitting as a member of the

¹⁰ "Report" to the stockholders of the Dakota Land Company, 1859, in *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 6: 175, 176; *Laws*, 1857, extra session, p. 36.

¹¹ Executive Journal, September 22, 1857.

board canvassing the votes cast at the election, objected when the southwest vote was thrown out by the two other members on the board.¹² If one disregards Medary's action in not making public his precincts proclamation, there is little to connect him with the southwest vote. New to the territory and sympathetic to requests of Democratic leaders, the governor may have regarded the proclamation as routine business.

The fact that the general public lacked knowledge of the southwest area might have given Brown the idea of producing a Democratic vote there in 1857. He was himself familiar with the region, for during his many years as a fur company employee he had traversed every part of it. Many travelers in the southwest counties, however, knew that the area had only a sprinkling of trappers and traders for residents, and some of these travelers presented the Republicans with their testimony. A letter from Henderson, signed "F," appeared in the *Minnesotian* for November 4, 1857, and helped the Republicans in their protests. The letter-writer stated that there were only four men in Cottonwood County and he knew them all.

A trader's cabin or two on the east shore of Lake Shetek housed the population of Murray County in 1857 and the two or three inhabitants lived in blissful ignorance of the near-by Conwell City.¹³ Nobles County, though declared organized by the legislature, was not organized, and the few trappers living there were insufficient for a full set of county officials, even if they had been willing to serve.¹⁴ Rock

¹² *Pioneer and Democrat*, December 19, 1857.

¹³ There is no published history of Murray County, but many of the survivors of the Sioux War of 1862 wrote accounts of their experiences which were collected by Dr. H. M. Workman of Tracy in a manuscript "History of the Early Settlers near Tepeeotah and Surrounding Country." A copy is owned by the Minnesota Historical Society. Many of these accounts throw light on the beginnings of settlement in Murray County. See especially the statements of Hoel Parmlee, p. 28, 126-128.

¹⁴ Arthur P. Rose, *Illustrated History of Nobles County*, 43 (Washington, 1908). B. W. Woolstencroft, a Nobles County pioneer, states that the earliest settlers arrived in 1867 and that the only earlier white inhabitants of the county were a few trappers.

County was without a white man and Sioux Indians congregated there only upon occasions.¹⁵

Under the enabling act, which set up qualifications for Minnesota's admission to statehood, a census of the territory in 1857 was mandatory. Unless the census returns from the southwest counties showed voting inhabitants in numbers, the Democrats who had made fraudulent election returns would be greatly embarrassed. Since the Democrats were in power nationally and the census-taking was in charge of Moccasin Democrat appointees, the problem was easily solved.

Census-taking in the older counties went forward rapidly in October, and at intervals during the autumn many communities were given an opportunity to boast of the population growth since the census of 1850. Not until February, 1858, was there indication that a census had been taken in the southwest counties. Congress at the time was seeking to determine the number of representatives to which Minnesota's population entitled it. Three had been elected, but the total of the state's population was found by the census of 1857 to be but 150,037—disappointingly small to enterprising residents.¹⁶ The secretary of the interior,

¹⁵Arthur P. Rose, *Illustrated History of the Counties of Rock and Pipestone*, 43 (Luverne, 1911). The Rock County here considered is the area known today as Pipestone County. When the southwest counties were established in 1857 Pipestone County was given the boundaries of the present Rock County and Rock County the boundaries of the present Pipestone. The legislature of 1862 reversed this and interchanged the names so that the Pipestone Quarry would be located in Pipestone County and the rock mound, for which Rock County is said to have been named, in that county. See *Laws*, 1862, p. 269. There is some evidence that the latter county was named for Augustin Rock, or Rocque, the trader. *Glencoe Register*, quoted in *Henderson Democrat*, December 3, 1858.

¹⁶This figure, which is found in the *First Annual Report* of the Minnesota bureau of statistics published in 1860, is accepted by William W. Folwell in his *History of Minnesota*, 1: 359 (St. Paul, 1921). Gere reported a total of 150,322 inhabitants in the territory, including an estimated population of 1,800 for Pembina County. After the secretary of the interior had received the returns from Minnesota he reported a total population of 150,360, including the estimated 1,800 from Pembina. Later the secretary of the interior announced the official count as 150,092.

in charge of the census, upon the request of Congress submitted a report that included the following:

COUNTY	INHABITANTS
Murray	81
Cottonwood	173
Nobles	16
Rock	52
Jackson	50
Martin	55
Pipestone	24 ¹⁷

Late in May, 1858, William B. Gere, United States marshal in Minnesota Territory during the taking of the census of the previous fall, received a report from the secretary of the interior and for the first time announced the complete official returns. Not in alphabetical order, but grouped together at the foot of the county lists, were the following figures:

COUNTY	INHABITANTS	SQUARE MILES	DWELLINGS
Murray	91	720	16
Cottonwood	173	720	42
Nobles	16	720	6
Rock	52	720	17
Jackson	50	720	17
Martin	56	720	19
Pipestone	24	864	5 ¹⁸

Rock and Pipestone counties were larger than they are at present because the western state line was not yet established and these counties had their territorial limits, extending into the present state of South Dakota.

See 35 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 110, p. 2, 3 (serial 958); 35 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Documents*, no. 1, p. 93 (serial 974). Congress decided that Minnesota's population was too small to entitle it to three representatives, and allowed it only two. To determine who should fill these places the three representatives elected drew lots. William W. Phelps and James M. Cavanaugh were the winners; George L. Becker, the loser. Folwell, *Minnesota*, 2: 18.

¹⁷ *Pioneer and Democrat*, February 9, 1858.

¹⁸ *Pioneer and Democrat*, May 25, 1858.

The population schedules of the 1857 census are truly interesting. The original schedules are preserved by the census bureau of the department of commerce in Washington, and from these copies have been made for the Minnesota Historical Society. They include the names of the towns where inhabitants of southwest counties are declared to have resided and, even more interesting, the names of residents with ages, places of birth, and, for adult males, information about occupations and citizenship.

Ninety-one people living in sixteen dwellings are listed as inhabitants of "Cornwall City," Murray County, in the census of 1857. The chameleon-like changes that the name of this Murray County town site underwent are worthy of mention. At the outset the name of the project was "Conwell City" for the family name of Mrs. William Pitt Murray; but nowhere in contemporary sources is the name correctly spelled. The land speculators, seeking a free "puff" for the town site in Murray County, succeeded in enlisting the help of the territorial legislature of 1857. Congress was memorialized to extend a mail route from New Ulm to Sioux Falls City via "Cornwell City." During the extra session of 1857 "Canwell City" was incorporated and, according to the act, embraced a section of land at the outlet of Lake Shetek. When Governor Medary proclaimed the location an election precinct, it got a long way from home in being called "Council City." A map published in 1859 showing the route of the proposed Transit Railroad Company, one of four to receive a Congressional land grant in 1857, gives the name "Caldwell."¹⁰ The census of 1857 came close to the mark with "Cornwall City."

The 173 inhabitants living in forty-two dwellings enumerated in the census as residents of Cottonwood County were all huddled together, according to the manuscript

¹⁰ *Slayton Gazette*, September 6, 1907; *Laws*, 1857, p. 291; *Laws*, 1857, extra session, p. 36; *St. Peter Free Press*, October 19, 1859.

schedule, in Oasis. The name was not original. It had been designated as an election precinct in Murray County by Medary's proclamation. The space provided on the printed census form for the name of a town is left blank in the returns for Nobles County. Wakeeta is given as the name of the village where the fifty-two inhabitants of Rock County lived. Here again the influence of precinct names in Medary's proclamation is evident. The census schedules show the population of Jackson County to be divided between four villages. Fifteen inhabitants living in six dwellings made up Pelicans Nest; Sylvan Lake had eight residents and two dwellings; Oak Lake, thirteen inhabitants and four dwellings; and Desmoin Lake, fourteen inhabitants and five dwellings.

Fairmont, the name authorized by legislative act for the county seat of Martin County when it was established, and Fairfield are listed as having inhabitants in Martin County. Thirty-nine inhabitants and fourteen dwellings are listed in the first, and sixteen inhabitants and five dwellings are counted in the last mentioned. The total of fifty-five inhabitants falls one short of the official total. Fifty-six probably had been incorrectly set down on the census sheets by the clerk filling in the total and this error was not caught by those later handling the lists. "Forks of the Big Rock River" is the name given to the place of residence of the twenty-four inhabitants listed in Pipestone County. This name is such as Indians and traders might have used.

Even though the schedules of the 1857 census are official government records and are a part of statistics still accepted as authentic, at least for the seven southwestern counties they were forgeries. All these counties, with the exception of Murray, have printed histories and these contain no mention of the inhabitants enumerated in 1857. Fairmont, alone of the towns included, became an actual settlement. This name had been authorized for the county seat of Martin County by legislative act.

In statements made by early settlers of Murray County neither Cornwall City nor its inhabitants are mentioned. Notes of government surveys made in this county in 1858 and 1861 make no mention of dwellings or ruins of dwellings other than those which early settlers note in their statements. Since some of these settlers lived on the supposed site of Cornwall City on Lake Shetek, they must have known of the city and its inhabitants had they existed.

Though authors of the printed histories of the remaining six southwest counties relied upon the earliest settlers for their information concerning first settlement, it might nevertheless be suggested that settlements such as those found in the census schedules were overlooked. But here it is possible to give evidence that the historians were not careless. Minnesota in 1857 was well supplied with excellent newspapers and they eagerly sought news concerning every part of the territory. Accounts of travelers returning from out-of-the-way parts of the territory found a place in their columns and descriptions of visits to southwestern Minnesota are not rare. In these accounts there is nothing to substantiate the census lists. It must be remembered, too, that not a few travelers made their way across the southwestern counties on their way to the Big Sioux, James, and Missouri rivers, and, so far as is known, they fail to note these communities.

In March, 1857, Inkpaduta and his renegade Indians murdered settlers first at Spirit Lake and later in Jackson County. An expedition of United States troops was dispatched in pursuit of the murderers. The accounts of the massacre and the official reports of the fruitless chase after the Indians give a picture of the population in the counties of Jackson and Nobles, and they do not mention the towns listed in the census.

Just three years after the special census of 1857, the census of 1860 was taken. Naturally one would expect that, though many of the settlers might move away in so

short a period, at least a few would remain. A comparison of the population schedules for 1857 with those for 1860, however, reveals the striking fact that no names for the counties in question in the 1857 census appear in the lists of 1860!

The totals listed in the 1860 census for the southwestern counties are as follows:

COUNTY	INHABITANTS
Murray	29
Cottonwood	12
Nobles	35
Rock	0
Jackson	181
Martin	151
Pipestone	23 ²⁰

An examination of the lists of inhabitants in the 1857 census reveals many points that help to prove they were forgeries. Farmers and trappers, who almost exclusively made up a new prairie settlement, are in too small a percentage. An amusing error creeps into the census of the mythical Oasis. The first ten houses counted, according to the lists, were visited on October 10, dwellings numbered 11 to 28 have October 8 as the date visited, and dwellings numbered 29 to 42 are listed under the date of October 7. Time was reversed! On each sheet of the Oasis list, families are grouped so that they end on the last line of a page. There is no carry-over. Able as the clerk was to suit his fancy, he could list the proper number of children for each family with a view to filling his spaces exactly.

Although the schedules for Murray and Jackson counties are in a different handwriting from those of the other five southwestern counties, all seven are signed by N. R. Brown, assistant marshal. The lists for five are in Brown's handwriting. It is more than a coincidence that these seven

²⁰A. T. Andreas, *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Minnesota*, 328 (Chicago, 1874).

counties, and seven only, should be Brown's share in the census-taking.

According to the population schedules Assistant Marshal Brown made his enumerations in the southwestern counties on the following dates: Cottonwood, on October 7, 8, and 10; Jackson, on the twelfth and thirteenth; Pipestone and Rock on the twenty-first; Martin on the twenty-second; Nobles on the twenty-third; and Murray on the twenty-seventh. If one looks at a map of southwestern Minnesota and traces the ground that Brown represents himself as having covered on October 21, 22, and 23, it will be apparent that he considered himself a very agile man.

An oath appended to each of the southwestern county schedules indicates that N. R. Brown, "being duly sworn deposes and says that he took the census" of the county in question and made the returns, which he swears "are correct and according to the instructions of the oath." Each schedule is signed by William B. Gere, United States marshal for Minnesota, and, with one exception, by Samuel S. Selby, notary public. The Jackson County schedule bears the signature of A. C. Jones, judge of probate for Ramsey County. Gere certifies that he "carefully examined and compared the returns" and found that the "same are correct." The signatures are dated from November 19 to 24, 1857.

Accepting the dates of the notary's seals as correct, it is plain that the census schedules were prepared when the election fraud battle was at its hottest. They were intended, perhaps, to authenticate the fraudulent vote from the southwest, but the writer has found nothing to indicate that they were ever so used. The N. R. Brown who swore that he lawfully took the census of the two counties is the same man who slipped into the Democratic convention in 1857 as delegate from Cottonwood County. He was an organizer of the Dakota Land Company. Considering the

apparent errors in the lists, it is doubtful that Marshal Gere did "carefully" compare, as he certifies.

For all that they are fiction, there is some charm about the census lists. According to the schedules, the inhabitants claimed a wide variety of places of birth, including Maryland, Pennsylvania, Iowa, Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, Massachusetts, Vermont, Louisiana, Maine, Delaware, New York, New Hampshire, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, South Carolina, North Carolina, New Jersey, the District of Columbia, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Some had sailed across the ocean from Ireland, Italy, Germany, Bavaria, Sweden, England, Scotland, France, and Switzerland. A few were natives of Nova Scotia and Upper and Lower Canada. Yes, and one child is listed as having been born on the Atlantic ocean. Male voters make up half the total on the lists. They were the voting Democrats. It is noteworthy that almost without exception the foreign-born males over twenty-one years are naturalized citizens.

The occupations of the adult males range through the trades and professions. Farmers, laborers, bakers, shoemakers, merchants, plasterers, carpenters, joiners, sawyers, teamsters, clerks, wagon-makers, hotel-keepers, physicians, grocers, saddlers, bricklayers, millers, millwrights, bankers, engineers, ship carpenters, blacksmiths, mineralogists, bookkeepers, architects, surveyors, tailors, butchers, cooks, lawyers, marble-cutters, and lumbermen are listed.

The source of the names and occupations must be left to speculation. Perhaps they are the product of a fertile mind. It is easy to picture a satisfied smile on the face of the clerk as he concocts the fictitious schedules for the southwest counties. Such names as Parker K. Anderson, Orson Rodgers, Patrick Coulter, Cantwell Cobb, Thomas Carter, Abraham Hains, Mark Hammond, and L. James Parness sound plausible. There is an especially honest ring in the homely name of Cantwell Cobb.

The census returns from the southwest served to bolster

up the discounted election returns for 1857. They also furnished the Dakota Land Company and others in the languishing land-speculation business with advertising that had the appearance of authenticity. Incidentally the returns proved lucrative to N. R. Brown, who was paid two cents a name and ten cents a mile traveling expenses by the government for taking the count. He received \$288.68 for his work.²¹ Since the pay of Marshal Gere was computed on a count basis, he, too, benefited.

That the census figures of 1857 were generally accepted as authentic is indicated in the printed *Annual Report* of the adjutant general for January 1, 1860. The list of males available for military service includes: Murray, 32; Cottonwood, 68; Nobles, 8; Rock, 22; Pipestone, 14; Jackson, 30; and Martin, 41. The proposed fourth brigade of the second division of the state militia is shown to be entirely composed of men living in the seven southwest counties.

The census figures were not without results. When the Democrats assembled in convention in St. Paul in August, 1859, among the delegates were A. S. Coleman of Murray, A. Fraigger of Cottonwood, J. O. Whitney of Jackson, J. S. Demmon of Nobles, and F. B. Peck of Rock counties. Many of the delegates from the older counties did not look kindly upon the men from the southwest. Following the unpleasant aftermath of the election two years before, the respectable party leaders sought to do a little house-cleaning. Ambiguous wording of the convention call defeated the efforts of the reformers. After mentioning specifically the organized counties, the call closed with the statement that "Counties not enumerated in the above list will be entitled to one delegate each."²² The *Pioneer and Democrat* on August 17, 1859, pointed out the unfairness of the plan. Southwestern Minnesota, with a population

²¹ 35 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 110, p. 5 (serial 958).

²² *Henderson Democrat*, May 18, August 24, 1859.

of 5,528, had the same number of delegates as Ramsey and Washington with a population of 18,930. Brown County, aided by Murray, Martin, Jackson, Nobles, Pipestone, Cottonwood, Rock, and Redwood, controlled thirteen votes.

A movement led by W. A. Caruthers of Stearns County would have blocked the "loading" of the convention. He offered a resolution to keep out all delegates not residents of the counties they claimed to represent. This would have kept out bogus delegates, most of whom were federal appointees in the Indian and other services and land company employees. None other than Joseph R. Brown rose to protest the resolution, and before he had finished it was tabled.²³ The victory was an empty one for Brown and his followers. Repudiated by many members of the party, the Democrats lost the state elections, and with the election of Lincoln to the presidency the Moccasin faction passed from the political picture.

The split in the Democratic ranks had occurred weeks before the 1859 convention. Plans of the party leaders in the Moccasin faction to carry the 1859 election for the party had included the forging of returns from precincts found in the 1857 census returns of southwest counties. This scheme became an open secret among voting Democrats, many of whom resented the use of such tactics. On May 25, 1859, James W. Lynd, editor of the *Henderson Democrat*, exposed in his newspaper a scheme to forge returns from the southwest counties in the coming fall campaign. The exposé ended Lynd's connection with Brown's newspaper and the Democratic party lost a trusted and respected spokesman. The light of publicity thrown upon the projected plan was sufficient to discourage the Moccasin leaders and no returns were made in 1859 from the southwest counties.

ROBERT J. FORREST

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

* *Henderson Democrat*, August 24, 1859.

KEEPING HOUSE ON THE MINNESOTA FRONTIER¹

For several decades of the nineteenth century it was considered a fortunate beginning for an enterprising citizen, and a practical necessity for a politician, to have been born in a log cabin. The significance of this attitude was not overlooked by scholars, and under the inspiration of Frederick J. Turner the rôle of the frontier in shaping the development of the United States has been the subject of extensive investigation. Little attempt has been made, however, systematically to describe and to analyze actual living conditions in pioneer homes in a fairly large area of settlement. It is chiefly in fiction and in the biographies of illustrious sons of the frontier that this aspect of American social history has been treated.

It is of considerable interest to observe the ingenuity with which the settlers, while meeting the realities of the wilderness, endeavored to reëstablish the customs and institutions that had been familiar to them in the life they had forsaken when they followed the lure of the frontier. In cultural, educational, and religious spheres, in the organization of economic activity, in professional life, and in politics the pioneers were the agents for what a scholar has termed "the transit of civilization." Traditional practices were modified, however, by the character of the frontier region, by the sharp impact of new conditions and unfamiliar influences. One of the first problems that faced the settler and his wife was that of making a home comfortable and pleasant for habitation. How this problem was met in the fifties in the Minnesota region—the fron-

¹A chapter from a master's thesis on "Frontier Homes and Home Management" submitted at the University of Minnesota in 1933. Other chapters deal with such subjects as frontier architecture, interior decoration and furniture, and food and its preparation. *Ed.*

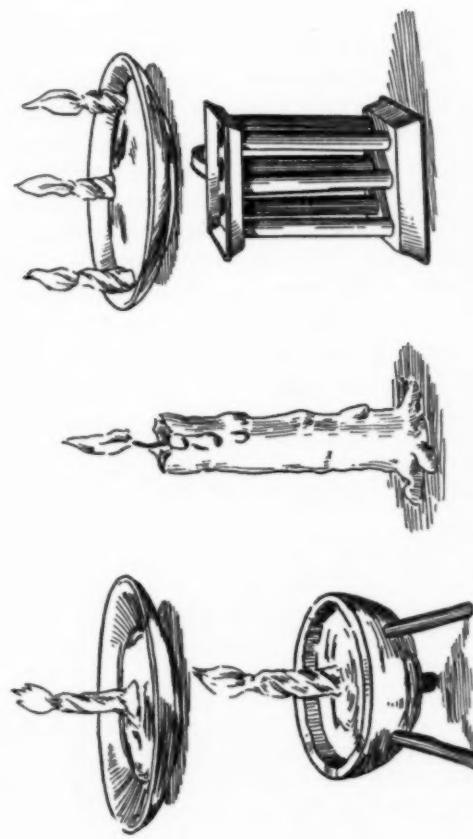
tier of the upper Mississippi Valley—is disclosed in a variety of contemporary and other records that illuminate the common life of the people.

Methods of lighting cabins and houses varied throughout the villages and rural districts. The flickering light from the hearth was the only illumination provided in the cabin of Edward Drew in the first year that he lived in Minnesota Territory. The next year he lived in a cabin containing a cook stove. There, because no tallow was available, he used rough lard placed in a dish with a strip of rag for a wick. The dish was put on the stove to keep the grease melted. Sometimes two or three wicks were put in a dish of melted grease to increase the lighting surface. Turnips and beets were occasionally hollowed out and used as receptacles for lard, tallow, goose grease, or venison fat. Three sticks were thrust into the beet for legs. Tallow dips were made by dipping the wick into tallow, cooling and redipping it until the desired size was obtained. These candles were made symmetrical by slight rolling while the tallow was still soft.²

Candles that were made in molds were superior to other varieties. The candlewick was twisted and doubled, the cut ends slipped through the tiny hole at the bottom of the mold, and a knot tied. A piece of wire strung through the doubled ends held the wicks in line on the top, and the tallow was poured into the molds. When the knots were cut, the candles could be lifted out of the mold by the wire at the top. Candlewick was carried by the leading stores throughout the territory. An early settler in Faribault recalled the "meanest man in town," a miser who bought up all the candlewick in stock, and then tried to exact ex-

² Hans Mattson, *Reminiscences: The Story of an Emigrant*, 54 (St. Paul, 1891); Harriet Bonebright-Closz, *Reminiscences of Newcastle, Iowa*, 39 (Des Moines, 1921); Lucy L. W. Morris, *Old Rail Fence Corners*, 99 (Austin, Minnesota, 1914). See also Edward B. Drew, "Pioneer Days in Minnesota," 122, a manuscript narrative prepared in 1899, in the Drew Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

SAUCER AND TURNIP LIGHTS, TALLOW DIP, AND CANDLE MOLDS
[From Bonebright-Close, *Reminiscences of Newcastle, Iowa*, 41.]



orbitant prices from the housekeepers, thereby gaining for himself the nickname of "Candlewick Brown."³

Sperm and star candles were advertised in the stock of many St. Paul stores, and by November 11, 1857, a candle manufactory was in operation in that city. Elizabeth Fuller, a St. Paul woman, lists frequently in her account book for 1857 boxes of star candles which were purchased.⁴ The headline, "In Darkness," in the *Pioneer* of March 19, 1853, carried a startling message, for the supply of candles in St. Paul stores had been exhausted. The dependence upon candles for illumination was soon removed, however, by the introduction of kerosene lamps and gas. Camphene and burning fluids were sold by the Minnesota Drug Store in St. Anthony in 1856, but these burning fluids were not as safe to use as candles. A solution was advanced in 1860:

To those who have become disgusted with star and tallow candles, (and who has not?), and are no longer willing to risk the lives of their children by using burning fluids, we would say . . . that the best article for illuminating that has ever been brought to the city . . . is kerosene.⁵

A druggist in Rochester bought five gallons of kerosene and six lamps from a Chicago agent traveling by stage to St. Paul. He sold one gallon of kerosene for \$1.40, and a marble lamp for \$1.40.⁶ The announcement of a new

³ *Pioneer* (St. Paul), October 11, 1849; July 24, 1851; January 1, 1857; Seth K. Humphrey, *Following the Prairie Frontier*, 66 (Minneapolis, 1931). The newspapers used in the preparation of this article are in the collection of the Minnesota Historical Society.

⁴ The expense book kept by Miss Fuller for her home in St. Paul in 1857 is in the Fuller Papers, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. In her balance for 1857 she gives the total cost of lighting for that year as \$87.85. Miss Fuller purchased one and a half gallons of sperm oil for \$2.75, a ball of candlewick at ten cents, and a bunch of lampwicks at twenty-five cents. The balance, \$84.75, was used to purchase 254 pounds of candles. Star candles were less expensive than others, costing thirty or thirty-five cents a pound, while sperm candles were valued at sixty cents.

⁵ *Pioneer*, November 2, 1860.

⁶ J. S. Woodard, "Reminiscences to 1881," 24. The Minnesota Historical Society has a typewritten copy of this manuscript, the original of which is in the possession of H. S. Woodard of Minneapolis.

commodity in St. Paul was made by the *Pioneer* on December 15, 1859, when Messrs. Wheeler and Son of St. Anthony advertised a stock of lamps that were designed to burn an article known as coal oil or kerosene, which gave a better light than the best quality of candles or ordinary burning fluid. So many purchasers were found in private families that there was danger that a stock consisting of twenty barrels of kerosene would be exhausted before the opening of navigation.

An analysis of the comparative burning value of different kinds of lighting fluids indicated that one gallon each of sperm oil, lard oil, and whale oil burned sixty, sixty-three, and sixty-five hours respectively, while one gallon of Breck-enridge coal oil burned a hundred and seventy hours. Coal oil would not explode or congeal, and a lamp with a small wick gave light equal to six sperm candles. A bill which provided for the inspection of petroleum oils for illuminating purposes was considered by the Minnesota legislature in 1865, but it did not become a law.⁷

While kerosene lamps brightened up the interiors, lanterns were devised to carry outside. Whale oil was often used in a lantern made with a glass door in one side and tin perforated with holes in the shapes of stars and diamonds on the other. A possible source of supply for oil when all the whales had been killed caused speculation among the early settlers.⁸

Gas made its first appearance in St. Paul in the business section. Greenleaf and Chappell, jewelers, installed a plant that was said to equal the expensive works of large cities. St. Paul's "Great White Way" made its official opening with a grand illumination on September 19, 1857, when street lights were put in operation. A few days later

⁷ *St. Cloud Democrat*, November 25, 1858; *House Journal*, 1865, p. 179.

⁸ Jennie Pettijohn Tyler, "Reminiscences," in Thomas Hughes, *Old Traverse des Sioux*, 133 (St. Peter, Minnesota, 1929).

the amount of gas consumed nightly was estimated at approximately ten thousand cubic feet, and the following suggestion was offered: "Bills for gas, we suppose, will be made out monthly." John P. Kennedy received employment in the following months installing equipment in houses for the use of gas. A. E. Ames's home in St. Anthony was furnished throughout with gas pipes in October of 1857. The gas company suffered serious losses during the next year, and St. Paul officials, after bickering with the city council, were forced to turn off many of the street lights to cut down expenses. Citizens were urged to dispense with candles and lighting fluids as soon as possible, and support the public utility.⁹

The problem of keeping the house warm in winter was no slight worry to the immigrant who arrived in the territory in the late summer months. According to the reports given to a visitor in St. Anthony in 1850, there was cold weather from the middle of November until May. Frost remained on the trees for six weeks at a time, although the sun might shine every day. The ordinary snowfall was from one to two and one-half feet, and it remained on the ground from the time it first fell until spring, for winter thaws were rare.¹⁰ A good supply of fuel was necessary, and the ordinary kind for a frontier community was wood. "What We Burn in St. Paul," ran a caption in the *Pioneer* of August 29, 1857. "This may seem to our readers a singular inquiry in a city so far to the Northwest that coal has not yet been discovered, and where the only other natural lignite is wood . . . but our object was to direct attention to the source of supply . . . Mr. S. J. Albright's wood yard, getting his supply from a portion of the 'Big Woods' bordering on the Minnesota River." During the

**Pioneer*, September 26, 1857; January 30, 1858; August 24, 1859; *Falls Evening News* (St. Anthony), October 2, 1857. Ames's home was the first in St. Anthony to be equipped with gas.

¹⁰John C. Laird to Matthew J. Laird, November 12, 1850, *ante*, 12: 163.

winter, when the country roads were blocked, steamboats landed wood at the wharves.¹¹

In the home of Charles Kimball in Superior, a frame house of four rooms, two stoves—one in the kitchen and the other in the parlor—consumed about twelve cords of wood a year, according to the memory of one of the occupants. The itemized bill for wood in 1857 for the Fuller home in St. Paul amounted to \$239.75 for forty-three and three-fourths cords of wood.¹² There was some question of honesty in the measurement of a cord, and for several years it was considered advisable to have a city wood measurer in St. Paul. This office was abolished before 1859 because of the additional charge on each cord. In 1866 a law provided for an official wood inspector for the town of Faribault. His fee for certifying a load of wood was ten cents per cord.¹³ With the introduction of gas in St. Paul, the resulting by-products made possible another kind of fuel in the form of coke, which could be purchased at twenty-five cents a bushel from the St. Paul Gas Company. Peat was another natural resource which, it was hoped, would do away with wood for fuel.¹⁴

The property of Joseph S. Johnson in the middle fifties included part of what is now Loring Park and the high bluff to the south of it, taking in land on Oak Grove Street, Clifton, Groveland, and Ridgewood avenues. Here he constructed his home so that the kitchen door faced the lake. This arrangement was convenient for trips to the spring house to fetch milk and butter. The water supply in winter

¹¹ *Pioneer*, April 9, 1859.

¹² Lillian E. Stewart, *A Pioneer of Old Superior*, 196 (Boston, 1930). Elizabeth Fuller, according to her account book for 1857, paid from \$5.00 to \$6.50 per cord for wood except in July, when she purchased five cords at a mill for \$4.00 each. On several occasions, she had to pay an additional charge of \$1.50 for delivery.

¹³ *Pioneer*, November 24, 30, 1854; January 6, 1857; December 21, 1859; December 2, 1860; *Laus*, 1866, p. 50.

¹⁴ *Pioneer*, January 30, 1858; J. A. Willard, *Blue Earth County: Its Advantages to Settlers*, 7, 18 (Mankato, 1868).

was obtained by melting ice on the back of the kitchen stove. An elaborate three-story house with a spacious observatory depended even in 1860 upon a spring for its water. A spring house built on a farm near St. Paul in 1859 was of "octagon form, fifteen feet in the clear, half of which is under ground." It was surmounted by a handsome cornice. The building was considered an ornamental and useful addition to the property.¹⁵ For those who had no spring or running water near their homes, the "wheelbarrow man" made deliveries. In August of 1856, his business warranted the purchase of a two-wheeled cart by means of which he distributed spring water to the "thirsty denizens" of St. Paul.¹⁶

Well water could be obtained in the Minnesota River Valley by digging from ten to twenty-five feet. The water was either pumped or brought up with a large bucket. Lewis Harrington, in his diary for July, 1856, mentioned working on a well. He spent about a week in putting on the curbing and making the windlass. Pumps could be purchased in 1851 from F. S. Newell of St. Paul, who carried well, cistern, and house pumps of all sizes.¹⁷ A town pump erected by the citizens of St. Paul for a common supply of water became a subject of some difficulty. On March 27, 1850, the announcement appeared in the *Pioneer* that "several citizens who defrayed the expense of digging a public well and placing a pump in it, at the corner of Jackson and Third Street wish us to give notice that horses must not be watered there." The issue finally led to an ordinance of the town council imposing a penalty of five dollars for the offense of watering horses or cattle at the town pump. In the advertisement of a house that was for sale in 1852, mention was made of the fact that it was

¹⁵A. J. Russell, *Loring Park Aspects*, 45 (Minneapolis, 1919); *Pioneer*, July 6, 1859; September 2, 1860.

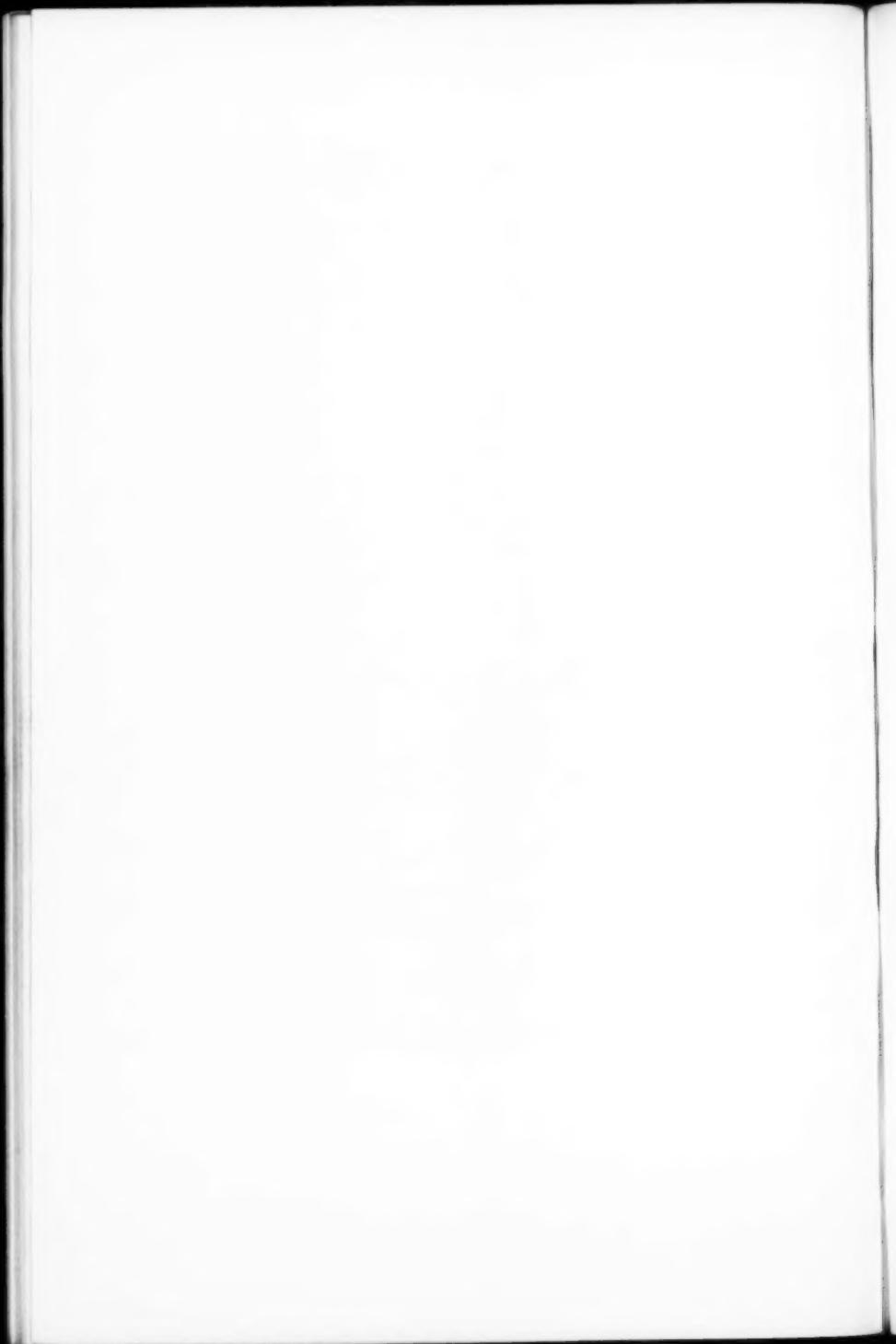
¹⁶*Pioneer*, August 21, 1856.

¹⁷Willard, *Blue Earth County*, 7; *Pioneer*, November 27, 1851. The Harrington Diary is owned by the Minnesota Historical Society.



CLAIM SHANTY AND WELL NEAR GLENCOE, 1856

[From a water-color painting by Edwin Whitefield, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.]



watered with a well and with a running stream. The *Pioneer* commented on October 30, 1854, that "notwithstanding the innumerable springs surrounding our city, S. McConnell in the past season has dug upwards of forty wells." A reactionary spirit in Wasioja looked upon the mechanical contrivance with suspicion: "a pump is an outrage upon the 'sparkling beverage of nature,'" he writes. "They do well enough for city people who never know what they eat or drink, but go it blind on their faith."¹⁸

Plans for a city water system in St. Paul did not materialize in the fifties, although various schemes were considered as early as 1852 for "St. Paul Hydraulics." An aqueduct covered with a stone arch and a road running over it was planned. By 1857 comes the query, "Can we have pure water in St. Paul?" Lakes Como and Phalen were reported as possible sources, both clear and pure, that any city might be proud of having in use for its citizens.¹⁹

The problem of drainage for cellars flooded with rain water was discussed in 1857 in connection with a city water plant. The water, it was argued, was insufficient for putting out fires—indirectly causing high insurance rates—and overabundant in filling up cellars. The city engineer was instructed to draw up plans for a general sewerage system. The unfortunate financial reverses of the gas company and adverse financial conditions made the actual enterprise impossible, but public-spirited individuals were busy analyzing the situation and stirring up favorable public opinion for such projects.²⁰

In getting soft water for laundry purposes, one of the first mechanical inventions used in the house became popular. This was the pump. When it was connected with the cistern, a water barrel under the eaves was no longer

¹⁸ *Pioneer*, August 22, 1850; March 11, 1852; *Minnesota Beacon* (Wasioja), August 15, 1860.

¹⁹ *Pioneer*, February 12, 1852; July 24, 1857.

²⁰ *Pioneer*, July 8, August 13, September 20, 1857; December 30, 1858.

needed. Although troughs to guide the rain water along the roof into a receptacle continued to be used, cisterns were considered a modern convenience in well-equipped houses. Dr. Ames had a cistern with a capacity of thirty barrels in each wing of his conservatory.²¹

Devices for refrigeration in rural districts were somewhat primitive, and various formulas were exchanged to preserve foods. One method of hardening butter without ice was to set the dish in a water-filled saucer, cover the saucer with an inverted flower pot, drench the pot with water, and set it in a cool place. Submerging dishes in springs was a possible measure, and the spring house or cellar for milk, butter, and water was an indispensable part of the well-equipped farm. One woman complained of having no closet or spot in the house where she could keep anything frozen, and when she received a gift of some oysters, she buried them in the snow.²²

The rivers and streams offered such a generous supply of ice that it was not difficult to store it in winter. One enterprising citizen of St. Paul made the situation easy for residents of that city by building in the winter of 1851 an ice house with a capacity of nine hundred tons. On May 27, 1852, the *Pioneer* reported that "Charles Symons brings us thick, blue ice to our very doors, every morning, cheaper than we can afford to go into our own houses after it." Business men found it practical to continue to put up their own supply. In February of 1860, William Coulter, a St. Paul butcher, laid in a store for his use the following summer, when he planned to have two carts running with the provision baskets of his customers, in each of which would be placed a quantity of ice to preserve the meats. John S. Prince was putting in a supply which it was hoped

²¹ Humphrey, *Prairie Frontier*, 70; J. Wesley Bond, *Minnesota and Its Resources*, 138 (New York, 1853); *Pioneer*, August 28, November 27, 1851; July 17, 1859.

²² Abby Fuller Abbe to Elizabeth Fuller, December 30, 1860, Fuller Papers.

would prove equal to the task of cooling all the claret punches that the public would consume in the next season.²³

An unusual harvest was reported in the year 1860, when a news item headed "Sky-Tinted Ice for the South" announced that "this is the first year that our generous ice crop has been gathered to any great extent for the southern market, notwithstanding the unequalled facilities for transportation by river clear down to the tropics. . . . Several barges are loaded . . . for St. Louis, with this blessed summer luxury, and hereafter its export will take rank among our productions." The legislature found it expedient in 1866 to pass a law prohibiting persons or companies from taking ice from the Mississippi, St. Croix, or Minnesota rivers without erecting suitable safeguards around the place from which the ice was taken.²⁴

Improvements in the mechanics of the refrigerator were described in the *Pioneer* on July 21, 1866, when J. B. Holmes offered for sale a refrigerator which had a "passage of current of fresh air through all its compartments by a simple but ingenious invention." It required only a small quantity of ice, and answered all the purposes of a cellar with none of its inconveniences.

Special techniques of housekeeping were involved in cleaning and laundry work. One of these was soap-making, an important skill of the economical housewife. Jane Grey Swisshelm objected vigorously to the boxes labelled "soap" coming from St. Louis, Cincinnati, and other places. "Where oak wood is used for fuel, and mess pork in cooking, as they are here, every family should make its own soap, until factories are started in the vicinity at least. At our house we make even our own toilet soap," she wrote.²⁵ A writer for the *Pioneer* of June 28, 1849,

²³ *Pioneer*, February 14, 1860.

²⁴ *Pioneer*, March 28, 1860; *Laws*, 1866, p. 73.

²⁵ *St. Cloud Visiter*, June 24, 1858. For concurrent opinion, see the *Pioneer*, June 3, 1852, which asserts that a tallow chandler or a soap-maker settling in St. Paul could make a fortune in three years.

assumed that every housewife knew how to make soap, but as all might not know the best way, the process was carefully described. It was recommended that the grease be cleansed by boiling in deep lye so that the refuse of bacon rinds, scraps of pork, and old bones, would sink to the bottom. Lye which was strong enough to bear an egg was to be boiled and poured into the soap barrel until all the grease was taken up. If luck was with the housewife, the soap would "come" at the end of this process, as the lye and grease would unite. Sometimes the action failed, although the lye seemed strong enough when tested. In this case, advised the writer, "put in fresh lime. The acids immediately leave the lye to unite with the lime, and the lye becomes caustic. . . . Some sorts of wood contain much acid, others little. Beech belongs to the first, and hickory to the last. Soap boilers who use ashes made of all sorts of wood indiscriminately put in a peck of quick lime to a bushel of ashes, and they never fail to get soap."

City dwellers were not without commercial aids in laundry work, however, for in 1855 washing powders were advertised which miraculously made such labor easy and pleasant. "Oh dear, 'tis such hard work to wash." "Not if using Bond & Kellogg's Washing Powder" ran one advertisement. A complaint was registered in one case by "Soap and Water," who protested that they were beaten out of the tub by a compound of iniquity that imparted whiteness with a fatal facility, but in equal ratio effected destruction.²⁰

In some families brooms were made of splints and manufactured at home. The raising of broom corn was encouraged, and the manufacture of brooms was considered hopefully as the beginning of industrial development in the Northwest. Samuel Clotworthy brought to St. Paul in 1855 some brooms that he had made of corn grown in Minnesota. In the early sixties a Faribault man manufac-

²⁰ *Pioneer*, March 13, 1850; November 17, 1855.



A SOAP VAT

[From Bonebright-Closs, *Reminiscences of Newcastle, Iowa, 182.*]

tured about three thousand brooms, all of which were sold in Minnesota.²⁷

Goose plucking was an activity that afforded lively exercise. A settler in Newcastle, Iowa, described this procedure. A goose hatched early in the spring was relieved of its feathers four times during the season, she declared, and if half a pound of feathers from each goose was gathered in the four scrimmages, the process was deemed a success. The fine soft feathers were used for pillow and mattress ticks, while the long ones were twisted into feather dusters.²⁸

The construction of fences around the dwelling place was a task common to both city and rural dwellers. Alice Mendenhall George said that her father was busy after he built their cabin putting up a fence which was seven rails high. A picture of a log cabin that was built in Douglas County in 1867 shows a little fence around the lonely structure, and views of St. Paul in 1857 and 1867 reveal inclosures around the property of city dwellings. Lack of fences was a sign of indolence to Mrs. Swisselm, and after a sojourn in Wasioja, she reported it "like Owatonna, only more so—not a fence worth the name, no trees, no shrubbery, no garden—I did not see one man, woman, or child doing anything to make their home look like places to live in." In Mantorville, on the other hand, she was favorably impressed by the home of Zeno B. Page, a roomy, airy house built on the best Pennsylvania plan, surrounded by substantial fences. St. Cloud itself was a model in this respect, for "spring fences were going up around every St. Cloud house, and smiling gardens peeped out at one." Governor Ramsey had a rail fence in which nails were used built around his property in 1851.²⁹

²⁷ Morris, *Old Rail Fence Corners*, 19, 77; *Pioneer*, January 18, 1855.

²⁸ Bonebright-Closz, *Reminiscences of Newcastle, Iowa*, 197.

²⁹ *St. Cloud Democrat*, May 27, 1858; April 12, 1860; T. M. Newson, *Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota*, 276 (St. Paul, 1886).

Rail fences were sometimes laid to a height of six, eight, or ten rails. The first layer was laid zigzag on the ground, and the ends of each succeeding layer interlocked, so that alternate rails were parallel in each section of a fence. A "worm" fence had no corner stays, but a "stake" and "rider" fence had a reinforcement for the junction of each section. Two stakes were braced in a slanting position to form an "X," and the top or "rider" rail rested in the crotch and locked the structure. A man could split about a hundred rails in a day.³⁰

J. A. Willard, in explaining the advantages of Blue Earth County to settlers, described several methods of fencing that were being tried on the prairie, such as hedge and ditch and turf fences. The ditch and turf fence was made of earth dug from a ditch and formed into a wall. When the grass grew over it, it made a perfect barrier for hogs as well as cattle, he declared. Wire fencing with one board at the top was also being tried in 1868. An act of the state legislature in 1867 placed the sum of three hundred dollars at the disposal of the Minnesota State Agricultural Society to pay premiums for continuous half miles of live hedge fences. Paling fences around cabin yards were built of logs placed upright and fastened by a top and bottom rail frame. Such fences were intended to protect the occupants of a home not from the attacks of enemies but from the shots of hunters. The neat inclosures of city dwellings were a real defense in many cases, for they shielded vegetable gardens from the invasions of stray hogs and cattle.³¹

In the original clearing of the ground, settlers cut down so many trees that replanting became necessary. The *Pioneer* in 1856 urged the citizens of St. Paul to plant shade

³⁰ Bonebright-Closz, *Reminiscences of Newcastle, Iowa*, 51.

³¹ Willard, *Blue Earth County*, 18, 19; *Laws*, 1867, p. 60; Bonebright-Closz, *Reminiscences of Newcastle, Iowa*, 55; *Minnesota Democrat* (St. Paul), May 20, 1851. For complaints against hogs at large in the streets of St. Paul, see the *Pioneer*, May 6, 1860.

trees. The elm was recommended. The *New Era* of Sauk Rapids announced that many citizens were beautifying their residences by setting out forest trees for shade and ornament. The editor of that paper reported on the success of an experiment in growing Kentucky blue grass in the yard around his home. The seeds had been brought from Daviss County, Kentucky. The grass in the spring of 1860 was six to eight inches high, and of a fine color.³²

In the gardens of a St. Paul nursery were dahlias, lilies, peonies, gladioli, lilacs, snowballs, and choice roses, as well as a variety of ornamental shrubs and trees, including mountain ash, balsam fir, red cedar, arbor vitæ, and Norway spruce. A complete catalog was prepared in 1855 by L. M. Ford and Company, proprietors of the Groveland Nursery. Although their first tree had been planted only four years earlier, the stock included deciduous ornamental trees, evergreen trees, ornamental shrubs, and climbing and trailing shrubs. The proprietors claimed that they possessed over a hundred varieties of roses. All the beauties of the old-fashioned flower gardens were open to the housewife, for this nursery could supply plants of clematis, spirea, geranium, delphinium, phlox, narcissus, tulip, iris, and lily. The nursery was conveniently located "near the Halfway House between St. Paul and St. Anthony, Minnesota Territory," so the public of both cities could be served. Verbena, camelia, heliotrope, pink, nasturtium, gelly-flower, jessamine, fuchsia, winter chrysanthemum, veronica, and oleander were some of the flowers cultivated by a St. Paul greenhouse in 1860.³³ Bushes and plants evidently shared a corner with more practical provisions in the cargo of steamboats on the river, so the exchange of "slips" and potted plants became widespread through the territory. Mrs. Swisshelm acknowledged a gift of lilac and damask

³² *New Era*, May 31, 1860.

³³ *Pioneer*, October 27, 1860. A copy of the Ford company's Catalogue of Fruit and Ornamental Trees is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

and blush rose bushes sent to her by friends in St. Anthony on the steamer "Enterprise."⁸⁴

"Dr. A. E. Ames, of Minneapolis, enjoys the reputation of possessing one of the finest and most expensive flower gardens in the Northwest," declared the *Pioneer* of July 17, 1859. His conservatory was composed of a central building measuring ten by twenty-four feet, and thirteen feet high, with two wings, each eighteen by twenty-two feet and six feet high. In each corner of the edifice were turrets three feet square and twelve feet high surmounted by spires. These gave the structure the effect of an Oriental mosque, and the unusual design was proclaimed very pleasing to the eye. A furnace in the central building with pipes running to the wings heated the conservatory, and water for the flowers was pumped from a cistern. The cost of construction was sixteen hundred dollars. A. M. Radcliffe was the architect and Charles Clark the builder.

The lightning rod was a form of protection considered necessary by the house-owner of the fifties. "Almost everyone has erected a lightning rod on his domicil," declared the *St. Anthony Express* on August 25, 1855. A primitive way of reckoning expenses is recounted in the story of a man who put up seven lightning rods on a livery stable in exchange for a horse. Terms as quoted in 1855 for supplying and putting up lightning rods and conductors were eight dollars per forty feet. This included a superior article, according to the advertisement, for the points were made of a silvered composition and were warranted to stand for years without tarnishing, the insulators were of glass, and the rods were square and twisted.⁸⁵

Some civic responsibilities of the house-owner contributed to the safety and beauty of town life. An ordinance of 1857 required the resident of each dwelling house in St. Paul to place a fire bucket outside his door ready for action

⁸⁴ *St. Cloud Democrat*, May 19, 1859.

⁸⁵ Newson, *Pen Pictures of St. Paul*, 308; *Pioneer*, August 13, 1855.

in case of emergency. Frequent notices were printed to remind citizens that sidewalks must be swept clear of snow by ten o'clock on a morning following a snowstorm. Individual enterprise aided in clearing the streets of rubbish when St. Paul prepared a reception for ex-President Fillmore, Thurlow Weed, George Bancroft, and other distinguished guests in 1854. The ladies of St. Paul found it necessary at one time to repair the sidewalks so that their full skirts would not be caught or torn. Numbering the houses was proposed in 1857.³⁶

An early settler in Mankato declared that the mosquitoes were more aggressive in their hostility than wolves or Indians. Smudge pots were burned all day. Windows and doors were covered with netting and beds were draped with it at night.³⁷ Mice were a great bother in cabins and shanties, and their number did not seem to decrease with an increase in the number captured. One pioneer mother claims that if women had mounted chairs to escape, they would have occupied permanent places on top of the furniture. Edward Drew described an ingenious mouse trap which he devised in his cabin at Wabasha Prairie. He placed bait under a butter dish or bowl and by means of some strips of wood arranged a spring to release the bowl on top of the mouse. The success of this device is indicated by his report of eighty-nine victims. A cat was a priceless acquisition, according to Marshall Comstock, who felt that he had made a good bargain when he purchased one for five dollars in 1854.³⁸

³⁶ *Pioneer*, June 14, 1857; December 21, 1858; December 18, 1860; January 19, 1861.

³⁷ Hughes, *History of Blue Earth County*, 64; John H. Stevens, *Personal Recollections of Minnesota and Its People*, 84 (Minneapolis, 1890); Bonebright-Closz, *Reminiscences of Newcastle, Iowa*, 42, 46; Morris, *Old Rail Fence Corners*, 13, 97, 130.

³⁸ Bonebright-Closz, *Reminiscences of Newcastle, Iowa*, 45; Drew, "Pioneer Days in Minnesota," 60; Comstock, "Early Reminiscences," 16. A copy of the latter manuscript is owned by the Minnesota Historical Society.

Dogs, however, were not in such demand. That they were an unnecessary extravagance was the verdict of the *Pioneer* on July 2, 1859. "It costs as much to keep a dog as it does to feed an individual. . . . In these weak and piping times of little work and less pay, it behooves us all to economize—to cut off every source of waste and extravagant consumption." A little boy moving into Minnesota in 1865 had been making great plans for the dog which he would have in his new home. His disappointment in the shortage of pets in the community colored the first few months of his life there until he was given a dog of his own. A pioneer woman wrote in 1853 "have puppy too called Dash after the one at home . . . pointer brown and handsome."³⁹

Servant problems did not perplex many of the pioneer mothers in rural communities. The tasks of housekeeping were distributed among members of the family and no extra expense was incurred for service. One family in Minneapolis did engage an Indian boy to assist with the housework. Hewing wood and drawing water were chores which did not appeal to his fancy, and he disappeared after a short trial. A St. Paul woman in 1853 had a nursemaid for her little boy, a German girl, "the most comical piece you ever saw . . . keeps us laughing constantly." In 1859 people who needed extra girls for housework, cooking, and needlework, or men or boys for any kind of work, could apply at an intelligence office on Third Street in St. Paul. No fees were charged for the service unless it was necessary to advertise for desirable people to fulfill requests.⁴⁰ Most pioneer housekeepers, however, relied upon their own abilities to keep their homes clean and attractive.

³⁹ P. P. Quist, "Recollections of an Immigrant of 1865," in *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin*, 4:12 (September, 1931); Mrs. Louis Blum to her parents, November 18, 1853, Cory-Forbes Papers, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

⁴⁰ Russell, *Loring Park Aspects*, 51; Mrs. Blum to her parents, November 18, 1853, Cory-Forbes Papers; *Pioneer*, October 25, 1859.

The transition from the self-sufficiency of cabin life to the coöperative spirit of the town is well illustrated in simple domestic practices. The amazing progress of the decade of the fifties in techniques of housekeeping is apparent in all the activities described. The substitution of gas for candles and of refrigerators for spring houses illustrates the progressive character of the frontier.

EVADENE A. BURRIS

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MINNEAPOLIS

PETER RINDISBACHER, ARTIST

The earliest artist of note in the Minnesota country seems to have been a young Swiss, Peter Rindisbacher, or Rindesbacher. Had he lived even to middle life, it is more than likely that he would now be classed with George Catlin as one of the outstanding portrayers of savage and frontier life in America.

Rindisbacher was born in 1806 in Upper Emmenthal in the canton of Berne, Switzerland. There is a tradition in his family that he manifested, while still a schoolboy, his passion for drawing, using chalk and charcoal on walls, doors, or fragments of paper.¹ His father, recognizing the child's talent, provided him with pencils and colors; and his mother, seeing evidence of musical ability, began when he was eight years old to teach him to play the zither. At the age of ten or thereabouts he became a drummer in a company of Bernese volunteers. A small boy sitting on his drum sketching is the picture that family tradition has preserved of this period of Rindisbacher's life. At twelve he was taken by the painter Weibel into the Bernese Alps on a sketching tour. This man was probably Rindisbacher's only instructor in the technique of drawing and painting. Probably it was during this period of his life that the boy made a little sketch of the Swiss home from which his family was soon to migrate to North America. His sister, Mrs. Monnier, preserved it, and this, with a miniature of herself, was the proud possession of members of her family within fairly recent times.

To Lord Selkirk's colony the Rindisbachers were lured by fervent hopes in 1821. The Earl of Selkirk, a Scotch nobleman, had founded a colony on the lower Red River in

¹A letter of May 25, 1932, to the writer from Miss Cora M. Rawlins, a grandniece of Rindisbacher, contains considerable information on the artist, and from it many of the facts in this sketch are drawn.

1812. His agents in Switzerland, as elsewhere in Europe, painted the valley as an Eden when they interviewed discontented or ambitious Europeans. In the summer and autumn of 1821 many Swiss families of good birth and some means sailed the stormy Atlantic and passed through the ice of Hudson Bay in the Hudson's Bay Company's annual ship to York Factory. But this painful experience was only the prelude to the hardships and dangers that were to be the normal course of the immigrants' existence for some years. It is physical pain to read the accounts of the journey of this band of settlers from the icebound shores of Hudson Bay to the almost equally bleak settlement at Pembina.

In a series of forty water-color sketches that he prepared on this journey and a little later Peter Rindisbacher makes very vivid the vessel, the shore line, the natives, the shivering groups at campfires, the arduous crossing of portages, and other aspects of a never-to-be-forgotten trip. These sketches, about six by eight inches in size, are in the possession of the Public Archives of Canada, where many of them are on display. Most of them are unsigned, but an occasional "P. R." on them and the similarity of style throughout the series prove that they are Rindisbacher's work. The colors are still vivid, especially the copper tones depicting the skins of the natives. The title of each sketch is written in a fine, German script, which shows that the Rindisbachers were German-speaking. Many of these inscriptions are faded almost to illegibility. It is fortunate, therefore, that someone has penciled a translation on nearly every sketch. A water color of particular interest is the one that gives a view of the little settlement at Pembina in 1822, just after a Sioux raid. Particulars of this event are known from other sources, chiefly from the letters of Abbé Sévère Dumoulin, whose chapel, just finished at that time, must surely be one of the buildings depicted in the sketch.

Most of the Swiss families found life on the Red River



*Drawn by P. Baedeker.
After Lawrence, 1832.*

INDIANS GATHERING WILD RICE AND SHOOTING WILD FOWL
[From an engraving in the *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, 4: 57 (October, 1832).]

intolerable and made their way by cart or afoot across the prairies, through hostile Sioux country, to Fort Snelling. The great flood of 1826 discouraged the Rindisbachers and sent them south. That year the Red River defied all its former banks and inundated almost the entire valley. The family story has it that from Fort Snelling the Rindisbachers descended the Mississippi in Mackinac boats and landed at the old portage on Fever River in November.² In the spring they moved to Wisconsin, where they remained for three years. Then they moved once more, this time to St. Louis. There, according to the *St. Louis Republican*, on August 13, 1834, "Mr. P. Rindisbacher, Miniature and Landscape Painter," died, aged twenty-eight years. The newspaper that printed this notice added that he "had talents which gave every assurance of future celebrity. He was generally known by his graphic sketches of Indian Life; some of which engraved for the Sporting Magazine, have excited much attention."³

The periodical referred to was the *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, which published ten lithographs and engravings of pictures by Rindisbacher in its first, third, fourth, and fifth volumes.⁴ They bear the following titles: "Sioux Warrior Charging," "Buffalo and Prairie Wolves," "Deer Hunting, Nocturnal and Aquatic," "Grouse," "Indians Gathering Wild Rice and Shooting Wild Fowl," "Prairie Wolf," "Killing Two Deer with a Bird Gun," "Wilson's Pinnated Grouse," "Wild Turkey Trap," and "Killing a Deer at Full Speed." Accompanying a lithograph of Rindisbacher's pen sketch of a buffalo attacked by wolves, in the issue for July, 1830, is a letter to the editor, written from Jefferson Barracks on April 6, 1830, which contains the following information about the artist:

² *History of Jo Daviess County, Illinois*, 783 (Chicago, 1878).

³ *St. Louis Republican*, August 15, 1834.

⁴ This magazine was published at Baltimore from 1829 to 1844. A complete file is in the library of the agricultural college of the University of Minnesota in St. Paul.



SIOUX WARRIOR CHARGING

[From a lithograph in the *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, 1:73 (October, 1929).]

P.H. & C. L.W.

From Nature by P. R. Morrissey



COLONISTS ARRIVING AT THE MOUTH OF THE RED RIVER, NOVEMBER 1, 1821

[From a water-color painting by Rindishacher in the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.]

Mr. H. informs me that you are alive to the merits and promise of Mr. Rindisbacher, the artist who designed the Sioux warrior charging; a lithograph of which appeared in the second number of the Sporting Magazine.

It affords me great pleasure to introduce him yet more particularly to your notice, by a *pen drawing of a buffalo attacked by a band of prairie wolves*. His familiarity with these subjects, the accuracy of their delineation, their freshness and novelty, give to him and his works an interest which few others can challenge. The generous anticipation of the Washington writer, that "an enlightened public will not hesitate properly to appreciate him," we feel assured will be most abundantly realized.

The Editor of the Sporting Magazine, in thus spreading on its pages that generous tribute of lively interest in a young artist, self-taught, and without advantages, has done much to invest his periodical with the high merit of fostering genius. He is entitled to the satisfaction of learning, that this flattering testimonial has been neither unseen nor unfelt by Mr. Rindisbacher. His port folio contains many fine efforts. The Indian dance is without fault; and, of itself, sufficient to establish a reputation. The buffalo chase is pronounced true to nature, by all who can estimate its merits. He is very happy in his landscapes; and when time and opportunities shall permit him to spread the magnificent west before the admirers of the grand and picturesque, his sketches, from Hudson's bay to St. Louis, will, I have no doubt, secure him a lasting reputation.

The artist's brief life must have been a busy one. At least sixty-four works from his pencil or brush besides those that appeared in print, are still in existence. Forty are in Ottawa; eighteen are in the library of the United States Military Academy at West Point; four are owned by Mr. David I. Bushnell, Jr., of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.; and two were, and probably still are, in the possession of the Rindisbacher family. Two examples of his art are reproduced in Bushnell's *Villages of the Algonquian, Siouan, and Caddoan Tribes West of the Mississippi* (United States Bureau of Ethnology, *Bulletins*, no. 77—Washington, 1922). In that volume Mr. Bushnell mentions still another sketch that appeared in *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1840.

GRACE LEE NUTE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

THE ASIATIC CHOLERA IN ST. PAUL¹

Cholera reached Europe from India in 1831 by way of the caravan route through Persia to Russia. In June, 1832, it was carried to Canada by emigrants from Ireland and thence, by way of Detroit, it spread into the United States. About the same time it was brought to New York and in October it entered the country through New Orleans. From these centers it spread to the Ohio Valley from the East, along the Great Lakes from Detroit to Chicago, and northward up the Mississippi Valley, and by 1833 it reached as far as the Pacific coast. In that year, however, the eastern seaboard was almost free of the disease. Cholera again was imported to New York in 1834 and to New Orleans from Cuba in 1835, and it was sporadic in the West till the winter of 1837-38. For the next ten years the United States was practically free of it. In 1848 another visitation took place. The disease broke out almost simultaneously in New York and New Orleans, and in 1849 it overran the entire country east of the Rocky Mountains and was reintroduced through Canada. By 1850 it had spread throughout the entire Mississippi Valley and had appeared in San Francisco, where it was introduced by way of Panama. In 1851 the epidemic began to abate, but in 1854 cholera was again imported from Europe and the West Indies. It prevailed generally throughout North America and particularly in the basins of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. After 1855 only scattered cases occurred till 1866, when the disease was again introduced at Halifax, New York, and New Orleans. In 1873 for the last time it assumed epidemic proportions in North America.

¹A more detailed account of this subject by Dr. Armstrong will form a chapter in a volume on the history of medicine in Minnesota, which will be published by the Minnesota State Medical Association. *Ed.*

Of the five cholera epidemics that have occurred in the United States, the first antedated St. Paul. Fort Snelling had been in existence since 1819, but it seems to have escaped this epidemic. According to the reports of the surgeon general of the United States army, only one case of cholera occurred at Fort Snelling. This was in 1854—a recruit who was ill when he arrived.

In 1849 Minnesota Territory was established, St. Paul was incorporated as a town, Ramsey County was organized, and a newspaper was started. According to J. Fletcher Williams, "One or two cases of cholera occurred this season. On May 3d L. B. Larpenteur, father of E. N. and grandfather of A. L. Larpenteur, arrived in the city, and on the 7th died of cholera, aged 71 years. He had, unfortunately, contracted the disease on his journey up the river."² A. L. Larpenteur, in discussing this statement about twenty years ago, said that his grandfather left Baltimore and went to St. Paul by boat, going down the Ohio and up the Mississippi rivers. He also said that a man named Lumley, in his employ, died of the disease some weeks later and that there were other deaths from the same cause. Lumley was an Odd Fellow, who had been initiated into the lodge only four days before his death. The members of the fraternity turned out for his funeral, the first they had been called upon to conduct. James M. Goodhue, the editor of the *Minnesota Pioneer*, referred to their new white regalia when he wrote that "he had not seen such a display of clean linen since the territory was formed." Larpenteur's statement that there were other deaths from cholera is confirmed by the United States census taken in 1850. The mortality figures for Ramsey County for the year ending June 1, 1850, follow:³

²Williams, *A History of the City of Saint Paul, and of the County of Ramsey*, 215 (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 4—1876).

³This manuscript schedule is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

NAME	AGE	PLACE OF BIRTH	MONTH OF DEATH	CAUSE OF DEATH	NUMBER OF DAYS ILL
Pierre Gervais	8	Min. Terry	May	Unknown	42
Magdelin Donnâ	60	Canada	April	Fever	15
Antoine Bouvais	80	Do	January	Pulmonary	30
Zoe Bivot	25	Do	April	Cholera	2
John Baptiste	2	Do	December	Pulmonary	30
Sophie Poncin	7	Min. Tery	July	Cholera	3
Alex Ramsey Jr.	4	Penny ^a	Do	Fever	14
W. A. Forbes	6/12	Min. Tery	March	Inflam ^b Brain	21
Phoebe Glass	8	Wisconsin	Feby	Burned	2
Mary Jane Barber	5	Iowa	August	Congestive	3
Albert Barber	2	Do	Do	same	3
John Lumley	23	Ohio	July	Cholera	1
James Green	40	Pennsylvania	Do	Do	1
Elijah Gladden	35	Ohio	Do	Do	5
Francis Robert	25	Missouri	Dec	Consumption	90
James Goodhue Jr.	2	Wisconsin	Do	Teething	20

The population of Ramsey County in 1850 was 2,197, but the county at that time embraced nearly all of the present counties of Ramsey, Anoka, Mille Lacs, Isanti, and Kana-bec. The population of St. Paul was recorded as 1,294. Almost half of this number arrived during the year. Since the record begins with June, 1849, Larpenteur's name is not included, and since it ends with May, 1850, it is likely that other cholera deaths occurred during the summer of the latter year.

Mortality statistics were not collected systematically in Minnesota till 1866, when the St. Paul board of health required birth and death certificates to be filed, though some births and deaths were recorded with the clerk of the district court after about 1860. Church records probably were kept earlier, but these have never been collected and do not give the cause of death except in rare instances. A United States census was taken in 1857 and again in 1860. That for 1857 does not contain mortality statistics, but that for 1860 contains a list of deaths and their causes

for the year ending June, 1860. No cholera deaths, however, are recorded for St. Paul.

It was maintained, of course, that all cholera came from "below," and that no cases originated in St. Paul. Though such a statement was good publicity and in the main correct, it was not entirely true. Like the rest of the United States, St. Paul probably had few cases of cholera between 1850 and 1854. It must be remembered, however, that the available records for these years are meager as compared with those for later years. Governor Alexander Ramsey notes in his diary for June 11, 1851, that a steamboat arrived at St. Paul the day before with "a few cases of cholera aboard."⁴ On May 23, 1852, he records that "a young woman by the name of Dibble died at noon after an illness of two days, supposed to be cholera, giving great uneasiness to our people"; and in his entry for May 31, 1852, he notes "Several very sudden deaths in town within the last few days, generally believed to be Asiatic cholera." It is likely that the following statement in the *Minnesota Democrat* of St. Paul for June 26, 1852, refers to these or still later cases of cholera: "If you are anxious to commit suicide drink plentifully of swamp water, we know of several cases of sudden death that might have been traced directly to the use of that beverage."

Early in May, 1854, the citizens of St. Paul began to be worried about the increase of cholera along the river. It was reported prevalent at Keokuk and Galena. On May 23 at a special meeting of the common council, called to consider the sanitary condition of the city and appoint a board of health, an ordinance was passed establishing such a board. It was to consist of one citizen from each ward and the city physician. As there was no city physician, the

⁴The Ramsey Diaries are owned by the governor's daughter, Mrs. Charles E. Furness of St. Paul; the Minnesota Historical Society has copies of some of them.

council appointed Dr. James D. Goodrich to fill that position; and as members of the board it appointed John P. Owens from the first ward, Lott Moffett from the second, and George W. Farrington from the third. Previously there had been a committee of health of the common council, and it was on the recommendation of this committee on May 23 that the special meeting of the council was called.⁵ It appears that the board was hard worked and that none of its members shirked his duty.

Immigrants were now pouring into St. Paul, which as the head of navigation on the Mississippi was a distributing point for them. Every steamboat brought in a hundred or more Irish and German emigrants, who traveled packed on the lower deck. The earlier inhabitants of St. Paul were mostly French-Canadians and native Americans. It is needless perhaps to state here that the main approach to St. Paul was the river. The railroad reached Galena in 1854, but it did not extend to St. Paul until more than a decade later. In the winter, therefore, the city was more or less isolated, though a stage line known as Burbanks Express ran to Prairie du Chien and La Crosse. Accommodations by stage were limited, and the journey was uncomfortable and expensive. How cholera spread on the river boats is easily understood. There was no law limiting the number of passengers or providing for the examination of immigrants. The immigrants were packed on the lower deck like sardines in a box. One must not get the idea that the river itself was contaminated, as the mode of transmitting cholera was more direct. All water used on board the steamboats was taken from the river and poured into barrels. From these the crew and passengers helped themselves, dipping the water out with any utensils they had at hand.

The St. Paul board of health made its first report to the council on June 11, 1854. It must be remembered that the

⁵ *Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), May 29, 1854.

presence of cholera in St. Paul was kept as quiet as possible, for it was feared that knowledge of an epidemic might hinder immigration. Immigrants meant business and money, and both were sorely needed. Consequently, when the council received reports about cholera from the board, it tabled them. The report is not included in the council minutes and even the newspapers did not print it and almost ignored its presentation. Modern city governments and newspapers often take the same attitude toward epidemics. The manuscript council minutes, however, are preserved in the Ramsey County Courthouse, and these include the report. It admits that the cholera had "been prevailing to a moderate extent among immigrants upon the decks of our steamboats," and gives definite information about at least three cases that occurred in St. Paul. An Irishman and a German, both of whom were dying when their cases were called to the attention of the board, had expired; a young man "to whom due aid and comfort was administered" by the board, recovered.

The board reported that it had been unable to procure a building for a hospital. Bishop Cretin suggested that as soon as St. Joseph's Hospital, which was being erected under his superintendence and which he thought would be completed by the first of July, was finished, the city could have the use of rooms there at reasonable expense. It proved impossible, however, to use the hospital for the cholera patients. Since it was imperative that a building be obtained at once, the old log Chapel of St. Paul, which was erected in 1841 and was being used in 1854 as a school by the Sisters of St. Joseph, was secured. Within a short time this was opened as a cholera hospital.

Early on the morning of June 16 the steamer "Galena" drew up to the landing in St. Paul with nine cholera patients aboard. One, a cabin passenger, Dr. A. Sargent of Meadville, Pennsylvania, was dying. He was carried to Dr. Goodrich's office, where he expired at nine o'clock.

Most of those who died of or who had the disease in St. Paul were strangers, whose very names were often unknown. St. Paul citizens did not escape entirely. Among the cholera victims in 1854 was Colonel Daniel H. Dustin, United States district attorney for Minnesota. He was the orator of the day on July 4. A few days later he was taken ill and he died on July 10 at the Winslow House. His infant daughter died of cholera a few days later at the home of Samuel Abbey.⁶ On June 19, the fifth death occurred in an upper town family of unknown name, and another member of the same family was stricken. On July 25 two more people died of cholera—a Miss Bridgit and Dr. Charles Ludwig Vicchers, who contracted the disease from a man he was attending. He lived but five hours after he was taken ill. The daughter of the Reverend John V. Van Ingen, rector of Christs Church, was taken suddenly ill with cholera when the steamboat on which she was ascending the river was opposite Kaposia. She died a few days later.

On July 27 Charles D. Fillmore, a half brother of former President Fillmore, died of cholera. The local papers stated that his death was due to dysentery, since they expected his obituary notice to be widely circulated. He was stricken while driving from St. Paul to Stillwater, but he managed to get back to St. Paul before he died. After this whenever a livery team started from St. Paul on a trip of more than several hours the liveryman put a bottle of cholera medicine under the seat of the vehicle. The popular remedy among the people was "Perry Davis' Pain Killer," a mixture of whisky, tincture of opium, and tincture of capsicum. It was taken internally and also applied to the abdomen. Three days after Fillmore's death, his wife's niece, a child named Hoffman, died of the same disease. On August 2 Edward K. May, a prominent merchant, and

⁶ Both Dustin and his daughter were attended by Dr. Thomas R. Potts. See the latter's manuscript Account Books, 6: 89, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

an unknown woman died. On July 25 the "Galena" again brought cholera patients into the city. Several deaths had occurred on the boat on its way up the river.

The writer's mother, who was then Miss Jane C. Coleman, arrived in St. Paul the last day of July. She relates that a short time later a man died of cholera at the Winslow House. He and his wife had just arrived from the South on their wedding trip. Dr. Thomas R. Potts was the man's physician. Miss Coleman's aunt, later Mrs. Willis A. Gorman, volunteered to care for the man, while her niece endeavored to console the young wife. A servant in the home of Judge Moses Sherburne was found ill one morning with cholera. Dr. A. G. Brisbine was called. He secured a sister of St. Joseph to care for her, but she died the same evening. There were nine in the Sherburne family and they employed two other servants, but none of them contracted the disease. An Indian who died of cholera in St. Paul in 1854 was cared for and buried at the expense of the government.

Much more, no doubt, could have been added to this account had an investigation been undertaken forty years ago instead of recently. Possibly Mrs. Armstrong is the only person now living who remembers the cholera epidemic of 1854. The present record is doubtless incomplete, but the evidence is sufficient to show that there was more cholera in St. Paul than most people would believe existed. There was also some cholera at St. Anthony, for records of two bills for ten dollars each for attending cases there are to be found in the minutes of the Ramsey County board for July 24, 1854. During the year the common council paid bills incurred by the board of health amounting to \$1,046.42, including the city physician's salary of \$300.

There is reason to believe that the disease was more prevalent in St. Paul in 1855 than in 1854, although but two references to it in the newspapers of that year and none in the minutes of the city council have been found. Ap-

THE UNITED STATES,

J. Henri Belland Jr.

<i>M. F. Sept.</i>	<i>For attendance &c. on Indian man, who died of Cholera, for Drugs per order of Priest, " Molding Coffin " Lumber for door " His Son's attendance</i>	<i>30 3.50 1.00 2.00 1.00</i>
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Received at St. Paul, on the 25th of September, 1854, by Willis A. Gorman, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, First Lt. Col. [Signature] in full of this account.
Witnessed by myself, John Henri Belland, Clerk.
I certify, on honor, that the above account is correct and just, and is

VOUCHER FOR EXPENSES INCURRED IN THE CARE AND
BURIAL OF A CHOLERA VICTIM[From the Gorman Papers, in the possession of the Minnesota
Historical Society.]

arently the epidemic of 1854 caused the editor of the *Minnesota Democrat* to write for the issue of April 25, 1854, an editorial on "Health of St. Paul—Crowded Boats." The last paragraph follows: "We do not wish to be misunderstood at a distance, in making these remarks. There is no sickness in St. Paul now; there has been very little on the river. We desire simply to secure the enforcement of proper sanitary regulations in the city, and upon steam-

boats, for the protection of present and future residents, and of visitors either upon pleasure or business." The warning evidently had its effect for on May 1 the new city council appointed a board of health of six members, and they nominated Dr. Samuel Willey for city physician. This nomination was approved by the council, which passed a resolution thanking Dr. Goodrich for his services.⁷

That the board at once found work to do is evident, for the following item appears in the *Democrat* of May 2: "A young printer named Daniel E. Berry, from Harrisburg, Pa., died this morning, at the hospital, from cholera. Mr. B. came to St. Paul yesterday, on the Ben Bolt from Dubuque. . . . When he was attacked by the cholera, he was turned out of the hotel. . . . The sick man laid down on the pavement, until his companion secured aid, when he was carried to Dr. Lambert's office, and from thence to the hospital." The editor's indignation over the inhumanity of the hotel-keeper was no doubt intensified because Berry came to St. Paul to work for the *Democrat*. In the same paper for May 9 is an announcement of the death of Henry P. Pratt, one of the editors and proprietors of the *Minnesotian*, who expired "of Cholera-Morbus, after an illness of thirty-eight hours." Other sources of information leave no doubt that Pratt's death was caused by Asiatic cholera.

Much of the material used in this paper was obtained in interviews with early settlers. For example, in August, 1915, the writer learned about the epidemics of 1854 and 1855 from James Cody, who arrived in St. Paul on May 1, 1854. Cody recalled that a blackboard was set up in a cemetery located near the present site of St. Joseph's Academy, and that there the names of those who died of cholera were written. In two weeks he counted thirty-four names. Among those who died of cholera in 1855 was Cody's sister Margaret. She was cared for at St. Joseph's Hospital, and at the time of her death Cody was

⁷ *Minnesota Democrat* (St. Paul), May 2, 9, 1855.

helping the nuns to nurse the many cholera patients there. Five people took sick at a dance that Cody was attending, and of them three died. In all, Cody recalled about thirty cases of cholera.

The only death from cholera remembered by Jacob Mathes, who came to St. Paul in 1852 and was interviewed on July 31, 1915, was that of a German immigrant named John G. Hullsieck. Mrs. W. D. Richardson recalled the death in 1855 of a neighbor who was employed on a Mississippi River boat as an engineer. She said that the St. Paul board of health, local clergymen, and members of the Masonic Order cared for many cholera patients. Her husband was a member of a Masonic cholera relief committee. Mrs. Mary A. Fuller, a member of the Irvine family which settled in St. Paul in 1843, related that eleven cholera patients arrived on a single boat in 1855. They were put into wagons to go to St. Joseph's Hospital, but on the way one of the wagons was mired and two patients died before it could be extricated.

In 1866 St. Paul was again afflicted by the disease. On April 10 the mayor suggested that the city be cleaned up in order to "be prepared for a visitation of the disease." Dr. A. G. Brisbine was designated city physician and his salary fixed at \$150 a year. Later the board of health was reorganized with a clerk and a representative from each ward. It met on April 19 and set about taking steps to clean up the city in accordance with the mayor's suggestion. A sanitary police system was perfected and orders were issued, with the approval of the council, against dumping on the streets, against leaving undrained pools of stagnant water on streets and vacant lots, and against maintaining hog pens and soap factories within the city limits. It was further directed that green hides must not be stored in the city, and that refuse and garbage should be dumped in the river below the city limits.

When health ordinances conflict with business interests,

however, policies often change. Those who took water from the river for sprinkling the streets protested because they were afraid it might be contaminated. The hog owners objected, claiming that pig pasturing within the city did no harm and that pigs were efficient scavengers. At a special meeting of the council on May 31 H. Rogers, who was in the hide business, recalled that in Philadelphia, where he was engaged in the leather trade during the epidemic of 1832, those working with leather or even living in the vicinity of the warehouses where hides and leather were stored "were almost exempt from cholera." Another dealer in hides, Joseph Ullmann, who had been brought into court and fined because he violated the hide ordinance, asserted that the "hide business was too valuable to the city, and was becoming too important to be driven away." As a result of such protests Mayor John S. Prince refused to sign an ordinance forbidding the keeping of hogs within the city and the council repealed the hide ordinance. The writer of a letter to the editor of the *Pioneer* thanked the council for its action, stating that "Having so long enjoyed the soul-refreshing and body-invigorating odors arising from these places, the bare idea of losing them made me actually sick at my stomach. I could not sleep nights."⁸ Dr. Brisbine and some members of the board of health tendered their resignations, and early in July Dr. Potts, after some competition with Dr. C. D. Williams, was appointed city physician and health officer.

In the meantime a committee of the council and the county commissioners were trying to agree on a site for a hospital. A proposal to locate it in the third ward caused a panic in that part of town. At the regular meeting of the board of health on April 27, addresses were made by various citizens. Dr. Willey "thought St. Joseph's Hospital the best place" and remarked that the "city had its cholera patients cared for there when the cholera was here

⁸ *Pioneer*, June 1, 2, 6, 1866.

before." Dr. Jacob H. Stewart also advocated this plan as "we could not buy or build a hospital for want of time." He gave warning that "The cholera may break out any day. It has already appeared at Cincinnati, and boats may bring it here any moment." Alderman William Markoe "offered to see what arrangements could be made for the reception of cholera patients" at the hospital and report at a subsequent meeting. Dr. Willey suggested making compulsory a daily report of cholera patients and the keeping of records of the disease and mortalities resulting from it. As a result of this suggestion the council passed an ordinance which provided that the health officer must "collect and report to the Council at every meeting the number, age and nativity of all persons who die, and the disease causing death."⁹ This was the first ordinance of its kind in the state.

A meeting at Timme's Store of citizens who resided near St. Joseph's Hospital, which was located at Tenth and St. Peter streets, followed the removal of four cholera patients from steamboats to the hospital. The people threatened to destroy the hospital if cholera patients were allowed there. In August, I. P. Wright, chief health inspector, made arrangements to rent the Dakota House on the west side of the river, with the intention of removing cholera patients from boats to the hotel, but people living in the neighborhood protested against its use as a cholera hospital. Edward Langevin, the owner, then notified Wright that he could not use the hotel as a hospital. Then a site was obtained at Kaposia. This was given up for similar reasons.¹⁰

Finally, the board of health built a quarantine station at Pigs Eye, about a mile below Dayton's Bluff. "Two buildings, one 24 x 30, the other 30 x 30, are almost completed. . . . Bedding, medicines, stores, furniture, &c.

⁹ *Pioneer*, April 28, May 2, 1866.

¹⁰ *Pioneer*, August 17, 20, 1866.

will be sent down to-day," reads an account in the *Pioneer* of August 21. The buildings cost fourteen hundred dollars. Boats coming up the river were required to stop at Pigs Eye for inspection. On August 24 Dr. Charles E. Smith, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania who had just returned to St. Paul after serving as an interne, was made assistant to Dr. Potts and placed in charge of the quarantine station.

Most of the few cases of cholera that occurred in St. Paul in 1866 developed before the station was ready for use and are unrecorded. On August 13 the "Canada" arrived from down river with cholera aboard. Although five deck hands had died a few days earlier, the clerk reported that they were merely suffering from cholera morbus. He said that they were ill from eating a large quantity of green apples and drinking buttermilk. Three deck hands from the "Canada" and a steward from another boat were removed to St. Joseph's Hospital, where two of them died. The other men recovered. On August 24, the day the quarantine station was opened, a Norwegian immigrant named Paul Andreas Anderson, aged sixty years, was taken from a steamboat at the station. Dr. Smith related that he found this man in a moribund condition lying on the lower deck in a pile of filth. He had lost about half his weight. No one would go near him, so Dr. Smith carried him to the hospital. Within six hours the man was dead and he was hastily buried on the river bank near the station. A short time later two men were taken from a raft on the river to the station. One of them was named Williams. They recovered. These were apparently the last patients treated at the station. Only one other case of cholera seems to have occurred in St. Paul during this epidemic—a man named Callihan, who died September 9 in town. He is the last recorded cholera patient in St. Paul. The late Dr. Samuel D. Flagg, however, said that he saw a cholera patient in 1873, and Dr. Stewart agreed

with him about the diagnosis. The quarantine station was closed on September 19. It cost the city about \$3,770. Sometime later when the city sent someone to remove the furniture, it had disappeared. A few small articles were recovered from two Frenchmen who lived down the river, but the remainder were not found and apparently the search for them was not pushed. It was evident that someone knew where they had gone. The last known instance of cholera in Minnesota occurred in 1873, when there were eleven cases and eight deaths in a Norwegian immigrant family near Willmar.

JOHN M. ARMSTRONG, M. D.

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

A PIONEER FAMILY OF THE MIDDLE BORDER¹

In 1860 father and mother decided to remove to Minnesota. From their old home at Lyons, Wisconsin, it was a three hundred mile journey to the new location in Minnesota, and there was no railroad west of the Mississippi. Aunt Emily, my mother's younger sister, had preceded us. She wrote that people were beginning to clamor for schools and there were few teachers, so she advised Aunt Mur to come with mother. Teaching school, housework, and sewing were all the business avenues then open to women. It was pretty hard for grandmother. She gave up two daughters courageously, though she had little to encourage her to think that she would see mother again. In those days it was no uncommon thing for a daughter to go west with her husband, and never again see any of her own kin.

One of our two wagons was loaded with the bulk of the household possessions—provisions, tools, and supplies. To it was hitched a handsome span of grey horses. Father drove this wagon. The other had some goods, clothing, bedding, and provisions for the trip, with room reserved for the children to play and sleep back of the seat. A white cover was put on this wagon—prairie schooners they were called later—and mother and Aunt Mur drove the span of old mares that pulled it.

Three days out one of the greys lay down in his harness and died. Father could not afford to replace him, and he

¹This narrative was read by Mr. Victor G. Pickett of Minneapolis at the eighty-fourth annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society on January 16, 1933. It consists of extracts from a letter received by him in 1930 from his sister, Mrs. Ida Pickett Bell. She settled in southern Minnesota in 1860 with her parents, Eli K. and Philena Pickett, who made the journey that she describes from their Wisconsin home in covered wagons. Ten years earlier they had moved to Wisconsin from western New York, traveling by way of the Great Lakes. *Ed.*

therefore traded the remaining grey for a yoke of oxen. They could go fully as fast as the old team, but the change was quite a comedown for father. How very long the days were. We stopped at night as often as possible where the women could have a bed inside, but father preferred to stay with his wagons. One night we stopped at a sort of hotel, and a sewing-machine agent was teaching the landlord's daughter to sew. I remember mother and auntie were very sure a sewing machine was not a practical thing and would not be at all likely to be used by the mass of people. At another hotel was a little girl about my own age with her hair shingled, so mother and auntie thought probably she was idiotic and I was kept away from her.

After we crossed the Mississippi River at McGregor, on a ferry boat with a big wheel, our trials began. Roads were mostly cross-country trails. Many times a wagon mired and father had to unload everything and sometimes go a long distance for a piece of timber strong enough to pry out the wheels. We had camp fires and mother cooked. Sometimes it rained, so we had nothing hot. We walked up the big hills, and as we met teams the constant salutation was "Hurrah for Lincoln."

I can remember how hard it was to sit still so much. The first day of November we drove through the little handful of houses that was called Albert Lea. We had been just a month making this journey. We only stopped to inquire our way to Itasca, where old acquaintances of the family, the Colbys, had preceded us while Minnesota was yet a territory.² What a wonderful thing it was to be so welcomed and to eat at a table! The house was a log cabin with one room below and a loft above. A stove, a cupboard, a bed, a homemade lounge, a drop-leaf table, some benches, and a ladder leading to the loft were its fur-

² Itasca was located three miles northwest of the present site of Albert Lea, on land now occupied by the Wedge Nursery.

nishings. Everything was as neat as hands could make it. The table was set as carefully as might be. How good that dinner was and how many, many, other good times I had in that house! A little girl, only a few months older than I, was there, and the friendship we formed that day has never had a break. Maggie, Libby, and Clara were still at home. Maggie was working in the newspaper office, which was in one corner of the old tavern on the spot where the schoolhouse at Itasca is now. Somewhere in its wooden insides there was also a general store. A very small assortment of goods it must have carried—for I remember that almost everything we used was brought from the river almost a hundred miles away—but the big barrel of whisky under the stairs was never allowed to become empty.

After dinner we started on again, but it was only a three-mile drive this time to the farm where Uncle Smith Skiff had lived for a year. Adjoining it, Aunt Emily and her husband, George Chamberlain, had bought a farm, and they were occupying a log cabin smaller than the Colbys', until they could build a larger one. We left the main road a mile from the house and followed the private trail across the creek. It was on low ground, and father began then what he kept up for forty years at least—execrations on that particular road. I remember perfectly going to the house. Aunt Emily and her family had looked for us for so long that they had left off looking, and they did not see our wagons until we were at the door. There was one window on the same side as the door and cousins Ella and Dora were sitting on the floor playing. The meeting of the three sisters in that lonely country, so far from grandmother, was one of those joyful, tearful meetings that meant so much more than the casual greetings of relatives now who rush across the United States in a few hours and go again in a few hours, feeling confident that they can repeat the performance almost any time they wish to do so.

The fact that five more people were to be cared for in that little place was only a delight to Aunt Emily. Later that same cabin was the receiving house for family after family that came from York state or Wisconsin to make homes in the West. But dear, patient, Aunt Emily made them welcome and comfortable in some wonderful, efficient way.

The day after we arrived was election day. There was very little red tape and no registration at all. The voting place for that neighborhood was at the home of Ole Peterson, a Norwegian, who became a political boss of some importance in Freeborn County. There father and Uncle George deposited their votes for Abraham Lincoln. Only one other vote ever gave father so much satisfaction—that was his first vote, which was cast for Henry Clay.

Father and mother were no hangers-on and immediately father began looking for land. Itasca Prairie was a promising place. The little hamlet of Itasca was looking forward to being the choice of Freeborn County for the county seat. There was a town platted, and between its eastern line and the creek was an "eighty" which looked lovely to a man who had cleared and subdued the woody, rocky land of Cattaraugus County, New York. It was rich prairie land, as level as a floor. There was unlimited pasture all around. There father decided to settle.

It was too cold by that time to build, but father found that Charles Colby had built for himself a new house and wished to sell the two-roomed house he was living in. It had already been moved once to Itasca from a place two or three miles northeast, where a town called Bancroft had been started. There, in the house which father now bought, David Blakely, afterward editor of the *Minneapolis Tribune*, had founded and published for a short time the first newspaper in Freeborn County. One after another of the houses in Bancroft were moved to other places,

until finally none was left to mark the site of the once ambitious village. They were built of oak and were more solid than comfortable.

Father decided to wait until spring to move the house, so we were soon settled in our new home. As the rooms were quite large, he decided to let Aunt Mur have the use of the best room during the day for a schoolroom. There was a fireplace in that room. A table was put in one corner, a bed in another, and benches around the rest of the room. Here gathered as motley a lot of pupils as any story ever chronicled. Young ladies who had left Wisconsin or other states when very young were glad to get a little more instruction. Mary Davis, who was beautiful, shed luster on the room. Libby Colby, Mary Frost, and Frank Blackmer scared Aunt Mur almost out of her wits. They were so grown-up and she was so unconscious of her own ability. She taught several terms at different times and I remember her as a most efficient teacher. There were several grown-up Norwegian boys, anxious to learn. They were not very attractive, but they had been so imbued with the thought that the minister and the school-teacher were to be implicitly obeyed and in no way trifled with, that aunty was quite taken with them as pupils. Ole Stugo later tried to "shine up" to the "schoolma'am."

When Frank Blackmer came to school he had a great pile of books in his arms—books on history, chemistry, philosophy, political economy, and other subjects. Isaac Botsford, a printer from "somewhere back East" who was editor of the *Freeborn County Springs*, was a solemn-looking fellow with a spice of humor in his make-up, and he had sent his devil with these remnants of his eastern schoolbooks and a note to the "schoolma'am" to make his boy behave. Aunty was not quick to perceive some kinds of humor and she was rather upset at the idea that she might be expected to teach subjects of which she had never even heard. Like

many another woman she lived with a joker all her life, yet never learned to recognize a joke when it appeared.

Evenings the family gathered around the fireplace and it seems to me there were very few evenings when there was not company. In the old pioneer days there was a cordiality and companionship that was heart-warming. Father was as full of fun as an egg is of meat. Mother was a comfortable, pleasant housewife, who dispensed dough-nuts and pumpkin and mince pies to most appreciative young people. Aunty was very attractive in her quiet way, and as all new countries have a good many bachelors who come to seek adventure or land, or for other reasons, a new girl was something to rejoice in. Stories were told, games played, and now and then a cotillion danced in that little room. Jake Frost was a little younger than aunty, but he worshipped at her shrine. He had a fiddle and the young people danced to his playing and enjoyed it. Years later, I heard him perform on that same fiddle and marveled that he had escaped injury.

Very soon mother and Maria Colby Bickford became good friends and through all the years until Aunt Maria died they helped bear each other's burdens as two great-hearted women can, advising when asked to do so, but never meddling. They were not in the least alike, but their friendship was a beautiful one. Aunt Maria was a worker and a capable woman. She married a man who was generous and warm-hearted, a man who hated injustice and cruelty; and as he had the good sense to recognize his wife's superiority and was proud of it, he let her manage and they thrived. Their home for years was only a one-room log house with a lean-to, but it was another home where people loved to go. "Bunk," as Mr. Bickford was called, was an old-time hunter and trapper. When Vermont got too small for him, he drifted West. When he first came to Minnesota he was always in search of material for a good fight.

and he very often found it. He drank some, as most single men did in those days, but never to excess, and later he became a fighting abstainer.

Very early in the spring of 1861 father moved our house onto the eighty he had bought. It still stands very nearly as he built it then. A new house was built later in front of it, and for years the old house was father's workshop and woodshed.

He went first at the business of starting his farm. He had traded his old team and a ridiculously small amount of money for 160 acres of timbered land between our prairie home and Albert Lea. This was the pride of his heart, for he was after all "of the woods." His children all inherited that love, though none of them ever lived in the real woods.

That year father cut and split material for a "shanghai" fence, which I think was built around twenty acres. "Bunk" helped him break some of the land, and he put in sod corn, turnips, and garden truck the first year. Our folks had provided themselves with cuttings of apple trees, currant and gooseberry bushes, and Lombardy poplars, which father loved. The last I knew, some of the Lombardys and cottonwoods that father planted still survived. Mother had brought lilacs and blush roses, and how they grew in that rich soil! When strawberry time came, we reveled in the wild fruit. Some of the people who came first got homesick and left after they had broken up some land. On this land the wild strawberries grew in profusion, and we with other people took pails and pans and our lunch and stayed sometimes nearly all day picking the sweet, wild berries.

During the first summer our folks were invited to visit two families whom they had known in York state—those of Charles and Daniel Dills, Pennsylvania Dutch in origin. Their quaint expressions made side-splitting fun, and their sound common sense made their advice on meeting the prob-

lems of the new country worth heeding. They did their part in opening Freeborn County and their descendants are among the educators, business men, and other up-to-date, worthwhile townspeople.

In the late summer of 1861, Aunt Mur left us to go back to grandmother in Wisconsin. Mother had become acquainted with the neighbors, and she had Aunt Emily, but it was a grief to us all to give Aunt Mur up. Father had begun to get together a little stock, I don't remember how much, and he planned to increase it as fast as possible. The barns of his home state dwelt in his memory, so he began operations for a barn of his own which should be more comfortable and roomy than the straw stables that most of the neighbors had. But first he made the house comfortable and livable for winter. He plastered it, cased windows and doors, papered and painted it, and made some partitions so we had a guest room and pantry. Then he began on his basement stable. He excavated nearly as much space as was later covered by the big barn. He hauled logs from the woods over the ice and erected crotches to hold the cross timbers. This rail grill he covered with marsh grass and later with straw at threshing time, making a comfortable shelter for his stock.

In 1862 father felt that he could no longer remain at home when duty called him to do his part in putting down the rebellion. Two or three of the Frost boys, both Dills men, and others whom we knew had already gone, and so he fixed things as comfortable as he could for mother and us children and went to Fort Snelling, where he was mustered into Company E, Tenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry. I was an old child for my years and I believe the sorrow and gloom of that time was as great for me as for any of those who were called upon to give up their loved ones.

Terror was added to grief as the Sioux Indians went on the war path and got to New Ulm only sixty miles away,

and fiendish massacres were told of by fleeing citizens as they passed through Itasca on their way to former homes in the East. Father wrote mother to make the best disposition she could of things, and find some means of transportation to Wisconsin. She left her things with Aunt Emily and other neighbors and went to Shell Rock, as Glenville was then called, expecting to go to the river with a family named Corning. Mrs. Corning was not ready and mother worked very hard helping her, and that with her fear and sorrow undermined her health and she was taken ill with typhoid fever. Uncle George came down after her and got her back as far as Itasca, where she was put into a room of the old hotel. Anyone who would took care of her. We children were taken to Aunt Emily's, where we had as good care as she could give us, and well-cooked foods—potatoes and milk gravy chiefly. But little as we were, we felt it was not home, and we were so scared and homesick it was a wonder we did not get sick too.

The Indian scare became worse. The grown-ups and half-grown-ups took care of mother, and we children were warned to keep close and to report any unusual noise or movement. Father was still at Fort Snelling and he got a short furlough and came to see us. I think that helped mother get better. He arranged with Franklin to take us to the Mississippi River when he took his own wife and little ones there. Mrs. Burnham—Aunt Rushia, as we called her—sat up all one night to make a little waist and a pair of pants trimmed with buttons and braid for Milton.

Finally mother was well enough to go—at least the trip did not kill her. We traveled with our trunks and bundles in an old lumber wagon, with an old team and an oddity for a driver. When we started across the prairie east of Austin, he would call on the women to admire its beauty. Standing up in the wagon, his long, lanky ungraceful figure ought to have inspired smiles, but no one felt very smiling, and as mile after mile was passed he, too, lost his enthusi-

asm, and finally burst out with "Damn the monotony." That got a little laugh from the women. I remember very little of that part of the journey except the monotony.

We crossed the river at McGregor on what seemed to us a floating palace. Mother used to tell long afterwards of walking down the saloon, as the long cabin of the boat was called, and seeing a comfortable looking woman coming toward her smiling. She smiled and, as they met, put out her hand in greeting and touched a mirror, probably the largest she had ever seen. Mother had the good sense never to feel humiliated at her lack of knowledge of things she could not have known, but laughed as heartily as she would have at anyone else. I remember nothing more of the trip until we got to the dear familiar little village of Lyons. Mother was not idle after we got there. So many men were gone that she did such work as husking corn and even digging potatoes, besides house-cleaning and like work.

After his service in the Indian war, father got a furlough of thirty days. It was doubly hard to see him go again, as we realized it was to real warfare. In the spring of 1865 it seemed likely that the war would end and the soldiers be discharged, so mother decided to go back to Minnesota and have a home ready for father to come to. Aunt Mur again decided to go with us, but she was obliged to go ahead in order to get the school for the summer. Mother and Milton and I went to Brownsville on the river, where we were met by Mr. Monroe with a big wagon and then taken to his home in Fillmore County. There we were kept just as long as mother would stay. When mother would stay no longer Uncle Martin brought us to Itasca. I remember how awful our home looked. Movers had used the house and stable. They had burned up most of the fence for fuel, had knocked the plastering off the walls, and had broken windows. Weeds were so high where our neat front yard had been that we could hardly see the house. All the shubbery was killed and mother had to

pay twenty-five dollars that fall to get the stable cleaned and repaired so it could be used. All the earlier two years' work seemed worse than wasted. But mother got some of the neighbors to help and before father got home we were quite comfortably settled.

Itasca at that time had half a dozen families and a few living near by who also considered that they belonged to Itasca. The Colby family I have mentioned. The son, Charles, really was the earliest settler there and he coaxed his sisters Maria, Mary Ann, and Sarah Jane to come there with him while Minnesota was still a territory and the redskins were holding their revels on the banks of Fountain Lake. Colby was an impractical dreamer, but he started things which other people found it to their interest to follow up. He was the most enthusiastic boomer for Itasca. He first built the house where his parents lived, then he built the one father bought, then the house known as the "Round House" a queer octagon-shaped building with a hollow wall filled with sawdust. This wall was expected to keep the house very warm, but it only succeeded in making it very dirty and alive with bugs of various kinds. Then he built a fairly comfortable house which he moved into in order to let us have the old one.

Another boomer was Dr. Alfred Burnham, a bright, reckless young physician who had come from Buffalo with his young wife about the time Charles Colby came. He gathered around him a crowd of adventurers and there were wild stories of gambling and drinking which were probably much overdrawn but which surely had some foundation in fact. His wife was as daring as she was beautiful. My mother found her a warm-hearted, helpful friend. Burnham's satellite, an odd, uncouth man named Franklin, and Uncle Dunbar, as every one called him, who kept the post office and a little store just opposite our house, were the town characters.

Ole Stugo lived opposite the Colbys. He was a lime

burner. I remember how fascinating it was to gaze into the fiery mass when he opened the furnace door to put in fuel. Once he said to me, "Dat looks yust like Hell." I had been brought up a Universalist (I was eight years old), and I promptly told him I had heard of such a place but had no faith in it. Some one told about my remark. A cousin of my mother's got hold of it, and I went on record in the New Covenant as a good Universalist.

Maria Colby and "Bunk," her husband, lived a little way west of the town, but they belonged to it, as they had lived there for several years before we got there. Mary Ann Colby Hurd was quiet like her mother. She was an exquisitely neat housekeeper and was worried to death lest something happen to baby George, then a year old. Dan Hurd, her husband, was twenty years her senior.

Mr. Frost, who lived north of Itasca, always had a hobby, and he rode it hard, whether it was Spiritualism or what not. In a voice that fairly made the windows rattle he insisted on presenting his proofs of whatever he was interested in, which made him rather dreaded. But his wife, Margaret, was a splendid cook, a motherly, hospitable soul who made their house a most comfortable place to visit. Botsford, the printer before mentioned, E. D. Hopkins, called generally Charlie Hop, and Mr. Peck, bachelors, made up the rest of the community.

All were interested in getting the county seat away from Albert Lea. That village, however, had in the fall of 1865 been reinforced by D. G. Parker, a lawyer, Dr. Wedge, a young physician, William Morin, and Augustus Armstrong, who, among them, had much ability, money, and consequently more influence in the county than the people of Itasca, and so Albert Lea won out. There was no chance for two towns to exist so close together, so Itasca died a natural death. We could not even keep our name for the post office, as there was already an Itasca farther north.

The above roughly pictures the Itasca neighborhood in

the spring of 1865. As I have told you, mother had come back to Itasca that spring to get the home in readiness for father's anticipated return from the war. Finally the war ended, but months elapsed before mustering out could be completed and soldiers released. Letters from father could give no prospective date for his homecoming. Few newspapers reached us those days. We knew that father's regiment had returned to Fort Snelling via the Mississippi River, but mother could obtain no information as to when father might be expected home.

One night just after dusk she saw a man in an officer's uniform walking rapidly up the path to the house. She rushed to meet him and before she could be stopped threw her arms about him. But it was not father. It was Dr. Burnham just returned, who came to tell mother that father was helping in the mustering out and would be detained still a little longer. I think that her tears of disappointment were duplicated on the messenger's face, for that was a time when sympathy ran deep and all realized the torture of the long waiting. When father finally did come in the early fall his whitened hair and dim eyes had changed him so much that I felt for a long time that he was not the same father who went away. But he and mother were strong, energetic, and courageous. They began anew the labor of building their home. They worked together in harmony, gradually overcame the handicaps which the war had imposed, kept their fireside bright, and made their lives worth while.

IDA PICKETT BELL

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Significance of Sections in American History. By FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER. With an introduction by MAX FARRAND. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1932. ix, 347 p. \$3.00.)

The writings of the late Professor Turner have furnished the text of so many reviews and articles that at this late day almost any attempt at a review will appear trite and hackneyed. In this volume are assembled twelve articles that appeared from 1896 to 1926, presenting the master's interpretation of the rôle of sections in American history. Like all historians, Professor Turner was influenced by contemporary conditions; neither did he refrain from indulging in prophecy and giving advice to his generation. He was conscious of his own gift for brilliant generalization and succinct characterization and was aware of the dangers that lurked in this. For this reason he cautioned his graduate students against making their pages "sparkle." His marvelous power of analysis enabled him in a sentence or two to characterize a man or to dismiss a conventional view or interpretation without the slightest offense. He had the "journalistic punch" of selecting apt quotations from the sources that illuminated the whole subject and fixed the point he was trying to make indelibly in the mind of his reader. It is remarkable that an historian who pioneered a new interpretation of American history and tumbled from its throne a dynasty of historians should have been the object of a chorus of praise with scarcely a single discordant note. Alone among American historians he founded a school that bears his name. Every university catalogue lists one or more courses designated by some such name as "The West in American History."

Every chapter of this volume is a refrain of the note struck in Professor Turner's epoch-making paper on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in 1893, namely, "the peculiar importance of American history for understanding the processes of social development" (p. 5). He never swerved from the conviction that "the free lands of the United States have been the most important single

factor in explaining our development" (p. 17, 86). He told the reviewer that early in life it was his intention to make the public lands a life study. The impression left from reading these contributions is exactly that received from his teaching, whether in the lecture hall or in the seminar. Professor Turner was essentially an explorer—always raising questions and always interested in trends, processes, and developments. He could marshal a formidable army of facts, sometimes drawn from obvious sources—as in the chapter on "The Children of the Pioneers"—but only for the purpose of developing points of view. He was not primarily interested in establishing the time and the place of the birth of the first white child born west of the Mississippi River. He was in a sense a specialist, but he followed the advice he gave to the reviewer: "Don't get too excited over a phase of history—read around it."

A study that greatly interested Professor Turner was superimposing political maps over physiographic maps in order to show the geographical influences in history, a theme that furnishes the title of one of the most interesting chapters in the volume. He lays down the dictum that "The frontier and the section are two of the most fundamental factors in American history" (p. 183). His conception of a section is illustrated by his brilliant analysis of the West. He gives the term "sectionalism" a broader definition than the historians for whom the term applies only to the struggle of the South against the North (p. 26). State sovereignty and *blocs* take on new meanings. "State sovereignty was never influential except as a constitutional shield for the section" (p. 321). He shows that legislation was determined less by party than by sectional loyalty (p. 41).

Although Professor Turner elucidated the influence of the West and the influence of sections, he never lost sight of the fact that the people of the United States are a nation, with common ideals, language, institutions, and traditions that set them apart from Europe. "Why," he asks, "with so vast a territory, with so many geographic provinces, equal in area, in natural resources, and in natural variety to the lands of the great nations of Europe, did we not become another Europe?" (p. 38). Among the suggestive answers to this interesting question he cites the fact that such men as John Quincy Adams, Van Buren, and Calhoun, who are ordinarily thought of as rather definitely sectional, were interested in finding a formula that would bring the regions together in a common policy (p. 50).

Those who have had the privilege of spending an evening in Professor Turner's study at Madison or Cambridge find the soul of the great master in the concluding paragraph of the last chapter in this volume:

There is an American spirit. There are American ideals. We are members of one body, though it is a varied body. It is inconceivable that we should follow the evil path of Europe and place our reliance upon triumphant force. . . . We shall continue to present to our sister continent of Europe the underlying ideas of America as a better way of solving difficulties. We shall point to the *Pax Americana*, and seek the path of peace on earth to men of good will.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

Minnesota in the War with Germany, vol. 2. By FRANKLIN F. HOLBROOK and LIVIA APPEL. Edited by SOLON J. BUCK. (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1932. x, 290 p. Illustrations. \$2.50.)

The Minnesota Historical Society has placed the people of Minnesota and students of the late war in its debt in preparing and publishing its two-volume history of the state during the World War. The first volume of *Minnesota in the War with Germany* appeared in 1928 and was reviewed *ante*, 10: 192-196. The second volume brings to completion a project well planned and well executed. A number of unforeseen difficulties, among them the expiration of the special appropriation from the state for war records work, complicated and delayed the completion of the second volume. To say that, nevertheless, the same qualities of scholarship and thoroughness which distinguished the first volume have been reproduced in the concluding volume, is to give merited praise to the authors and all others who assisted in seeing the work through the press.

The first volume of the work presented the story of the state's military effort in the war. The second volume is devoted to civilian activities. It is the story of the united efforts of two million citizens to make their full contribution toward the winning of a great war. There is much detailed information, but all of it is pertinent and most of it is of immediate interest, since it comes within the range of the adult citizen's experience. "Mr. Average Citizen," as he

reads the book, will be amazed at the immensity of the efforts and sacrifices of which he is capable when fully aroused. He stands out in these pages in heroic proportions, and he may take a justifiable pride in the expedition with which he overcame his inexperience and unpreparedness in matters military and waged the war to what seemed a gloriously successful conclusion. We rather suspect, however, that the generation that fought the war knows only too poignantly now that war today raises as many problems as it settles and that no nation really wins a war.

The first chapter is an introductory description of the "army" on the home front. The soldier in camp or at the front fell heir to most of the glory in the war, but he shared the burden and credit of winning the war with the millions of noncombatants at home who worked and stinted and worried all to the end that the fighting man might have his chance. In the second chapter we are reminded of the defensive measures which were necessary on the home front to guard against enemy aliens and any others who through disaffection or out of principle opposed the war and impeded enlistments or otherwise interfered with the gearing-up of the military machine. Much of this protective service was rendered by voluntary organizations that operated without remuneration in conjunction with the Commission of Public Safety and other government agencies, both national and state. Unceasing diligence was necessary in dealing with such sources of difficulties as the Nonpartisan League, slackers, the foreign press, the I. W. W., and the liquor traffic. In the third chapter the fight for public opinion is recounted. The effort here was directed toward "bringing the mind and will of all the people of the nation to an unqualified acceptance of the necessity of waging war against the Central Powers, of the justice and righteousness of the cause at issue, and of the measures instituted to carry the war forward to a successful termination." Extreme measures were imperative in order to reach everybody during the supreme crisis, and we have in this chapter an account of what is probably the largest and most intense effort of our history to carry quickly a uniform set of ideas to all the people of the state. Cartoons and posters (see the well-selected illustrations interspersed throughout the book), sermons, addresses, shop windows, editorials, pamphlets (by the tens of thousands), airplane stunts, and parades all bombarded the mind and emotions of the average citizen and left him increasingly susceptible to the appeal

of war propaganda. That this great educational and loyalty campaign did not fail to procure whole-hearted support of war policies may be gathered from the fact that whereas the ninth district, of which Minnesota was a part, failed by about ten million dollars to reach its quota of eighty millions in the first Liberty Loan drive of May, 1917, the second loan in the fall of that same year, by which time the agencies of propaganda had been more completely mobilized, was oversubscribed by about thirty-five per cent (p. 200-202). Perhaps it was just as well, in view of the tremendous emotional reaction set up by this machinery for publicity and propaganda, that men and women could find an outlet for their emotions in the work and fighting that was to be done.

The fourth and fifth chapters deal with the Red Cross and the seven principal welfare agencies. The state's contributions to the work of the Red Cross were represented in the multiplicity of services rendered by the county chapters and their hundreds of branches and auxiliaries, through canteen service for troop trains, and through oversubscriptions in the drives for funds. The account of the welfare agencies—the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Welfare Board, the Salvation Army, the War Camp Community Service, and the American Library Association—describes the successful means adopted by the government to follow the soldiers to camp and overseas and provide for them recreational, social, and spiritual facilities. Most of this highly important welfare work was actually carried on far beyond the boundaries of the state, but Minnesota contributed generously to the finances necessary to carry on the work.

The sixth chapter deals with food production and conservation, and the seventh with the conservation of fuel. These chapters, together with the eighth chapter on financing the war, reveal better than any others the epic effort of a hundred million people to win the war. Food for ourselves and the allies was produced in ever increasing quantities, and then conserved with the utmost care. Intensive propaganda was carried on among the farmers for realizing greater crop acreage. Railroads, golf clubs, and city realtors all contributed land, aggregating thousands of acres, which was put under the plow. One wonders to what extent the farmer's plight today may be traceable to the war-time program of capacity production. We are almost shocked to remember that in order to save wheat we

were asked to use only stale bread for toast and puddings (p. 157), that we were urged to "Let the Minnesota onions help America win the war" (p. 158), that only one teaspoonful of sugar was allowed each patron in a restaurant (p. 164), that in McLeod County fifty-six farmers found guilty of hoarding were forced to contribute four thousand dollars to the Red Cross and to purchase thirteen thousand dollars' worth of Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps (p. 163). The conservation of fuel called for the assumption of similar hardships. The state endured gasless Sundays, heatless Mondays, lightless nights, and the skip-stop nuisance on the street-car systems in the cities. While the civilian population was exhibiting Spartan virtues in accepting these sumptuary enactments, the massed attack of finance propaganda was producing notably successful campaigns for floating bond issues with which to fight the war. In the ninth district, which included Minnesota, over eight hundred million dollars' worth of bonds were purchased in the five Liberty Loan campaigns, an oversubscription of almost twenty-five per cent and an achievement which gave the district first place among the twelve federal reserve districts. This magnificent performance was the result in part of a species of high-pressure salesmanship that outdid even the tactics of the super-salesman of the late boom era.

The ninth and tenth chapters, on "The Mobilization of Industry" and "The End of the War," conclude the book. Minnesotans need hardly be told that the state's chief industry for war purposes was the mining of iron ore. "In 1917 the Lake Superior district produced nearly eighty-five per cent of the total amount of ore mined in the United States" (p. 228). The problem of securing adequate transportation for coal and crops was particularly troublesome. This phase of the mobilization of industry was not brought under control until after the government had taken over the operation and management of the railroads. The final chapter describes the return of the combatant forces to their homes and briefly suggests some of the problems of readjustment which confronted the boys.

To the reviewer the account of these civilian activities during the war is of absorbing interest. The men from the front carried back with them the visible scars of battle; but just what wounds of an invisible sort were inflicted by the war on the body politic must be left for the students of social psychology to determine. By an unhappy coincidence the book appears in the midst of another national

crisis. The perspective that time affords will undoubtedly reveal the crises of 1917-18 and of 1932-33 as complementary experiences. It is to be hoped that our capacities for making efforts and sacrifices on a large scale were not drained in the undertaking of 1917-18, and that an equal devotion to the national welfare will overcome an enemy that is far more insidious and incorrigible than the foe of fifteen years ago.

ARTHUR S. WILLIAMSON

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William Watts Folwell: The Autobiography and Letters of a Pioneer of Culture. Edited by SOLON J. BUCK. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1933. 287 p. Illustrations. \$3.00.)

This book is America at its best. The life of William Watts Folwell, as sketched reminiscently by himself and documented briefly with notes and letters, is that of a man whom we should like to believe was a typical American. The type is not that of caricature nor of the man in the street; it is the type to which our national idealism aspires but which we rarely meet; it is the type that the pilgrim fathers and the makers of the constitution of the United States dreamed of before the nation was born and intended to foster when it was organized. Ancestry harking back to English and Irish forbears of importance—the name Folwell is of French derivation—and to American settlers seeking education and college degrees when such ambitions were stamps of distinction among the pioneers testify to the fact that Dr. Folwell was not the first of his race to be a "pioneer of culture." The early Folwells were ministers of the Gospel, members of state legislatures, and always people of influence if not of affluence in their communities.

The father of William Watts was a farmer and the young William worked on the farm, as the sons of farmers do, and gained much homely and practical knowledge that stood him in good stead all the days of his life. The home atmosphere and speech were those of gentlefolk, as witness the neighbor's boy who once said to the small William, "I wish we could talk as you folks do at our house." Many sacrifices were made as a matter of course by the parents that

their children should receive the advantages of education, first at academies, then, for William, at Hobart College. Two years of travel in Europe, especially in Italy, Germany, and Greece, were financed on borrowed money that the young scholar might prepare himself for teaching philology. One can see from the letters home, which tell of his meeting and association with persons of position in the academic, diplomatic, and artistic world, and of the accidental friendships formed with fellow travelers, that the young Folwell could have lacked none of the charm of personality and grace of manner that distinguished him until the day of his death.

The Civil War brought the traveler home to take his part in the conflict. On the thirteenth of January, 1862, having been given a commission as first lieutenant in the Fiftieth New York Volunteer Infantry, he was mustered in at Washington. There he saw Lincoln at the Capitol. He was advanced to the rank of major and at the close of the war was given a brevet commission as lieutenant colonel of United States volunteers. During the war he married the beautiful Sarah Heywood, and when it was over he had a wife and baby girl to provide for. The problem of a vocation again confronted him. An opportunity connected with the milling business of his father-in-law in Venice, Ohio, was offered to him and he remained there for four years. But his heart was not in commercial work and recurring calls to academic positions resulted in 1869 in his acceptance of the presidency of the infant University of Minnesota. The remainder of his life was spent in Minneapolis, fifteen years as president of the growing college, then as professor of political economy, with incidental duties as librarian for many years.

Dr. Folwell retired in 1907 at the age of seventy-five, but retirement meant for him not the cessation of activity, but the opportunity for renewed labors in an unaccustomed field. Always a man of discursive interests, he now turned his attention to writing the history of Minnesota. His initial effort was focussed on a short history of the state which Houghton, Mifflin, and Company asked him to write for its series of state histories. Although his material piled up to a more comprehensive work than the publishers could use, he cut it down to the dimensions of a small volume. But he had become interested in his subject and he did not call the work complete until his comprehensive *History of Minnesota* in four volumes had been

published. The last came from the press a short time after the death of the author in September, 1929, at the age of ninety-six. His life surely represents a "century of progress."

INA TEN EYCK FIRKINS

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

The Planting Story of the Minnesota District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States. By H. MEYER. (Minneapolis, 1932. 144 p. Illustrations.)

Pflanzungsgeschichte des Minnesota Distrikts der Ev. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten. By H. MEYER. (Minneapolis, 1932. 141 p. Illustrations.)

This little volume, rich in facts and extracts from the sources, presents a popular narrative of the history of the so-called Missouri Synod from its earliest beginnings in Minnesota down to the present. The occasion for the publication of the pamphlet was the celebration of the golden jubilee of the Minnesota district of this large and influential Lutheran body that has its roots in the exodus from Germany of a band of men and women who were loyal to Lutheran doctrine and tradition struggling for survival under a hostile government. The Missouri Synod is animated by a doctrinal and nationalistic particularism that causes it to stand severely aloof from other Lutheran synods. This is obvious from the course charted in the narrative and from certain observations by the author, but the pamphlet is written in good taste and hews to the line. The scope of the narrative is very wide, including Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Canada.

The inception of the mission work in Minnesota dates from the proposal made before the synodical convention at St. Louis in 1854 to make a study of opportunities in the territory. Pastor Ferdinand Sievers was eventually intrusted with the execution of the project in the summer of 1856. The missionary's report, embodying observations and recommendations with reference to the German immigrants in the Northwest, is presented in full (p. 16-29). Then follow brief accounts of the work of pastors who followed in his footsteps, the organization of congregations, the founding of the Northwestern District, the branching off of other districts, and the establishment of parochial schools and institutions of higher learning. According to the statistics of 1931, there were 498 pastors and 98,725 com-

municant members in the Minnesota district and the four districts "that have sprung from it." The text in the German and English editions is identical.

G. M. S.

The History of Shakopee, Minnesota, 1682-1930. By JULIUS A. COLLER, II. (Shakopee, The Shakopee Printing Company, 1933. xi, 84 p. Illustrations.)

This volume is an enlargement of an essay prepared in connection with a course in Minnesota history at the University of Minnesota, and it furnishes a good example of the interesting and valuable work that can be done in the field of local community history. It traces the history of the writer's home town from its beginnings to the year 1930, and as Shakopee is named for the Sioux chieftain whose village occupied the site of the present town, the story carries one back to the earliest days of permanent white occupation and settlement in Minnesota. The narrative is divided into chapters that mark off approximately so many decades in the growth of the community, and the appropriate chapter headings convey at once an intimation of the plot of the story and a certain feeling of action which is sustained throughout the book.

The author has succeeded admirably in depicting the local life of his community against the background of and in vital relation with the larger life of the state and the nation. Without making any unnecessary or unwarranted excursions, he has looked abroad without straying from home, and has managed to express the charm of homeliness without any feeling of isolation.

The source material employed is adequate in amount and variety for the rounding out of a complete and well-balanced sketch. Besides secondary material in the form of published literature, the author has drawn from the original sources of town and institutional records; from the local newspapers, the data of which have been used very effectively; and from oral and written reminiscences of pioneers. Source references are given distinctly at the end of each chapter and in a bibliographical table at the end of the volume. There is also a chronological table and a good index. And the book is well furnished with illustrations.

The author's style is at once concise and animated and well suited to his purpose—the delineation of a distinct and general sketch. He writes also as one of a younger generation who has both fondness for the past and confidence in the future. And he treats his subject *con amore*, with a simple and genuine attachment, so that a reader who has never been a resident of this pleasant town in the placid valley of the Minnesota is inclined to congratulate those who call it home.

WILLIAM BUSCH

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MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

That MINNESOTA HISTORY "attests the high standard of regional historical study now to be found in some newer parts of America as well as old" is the opinion of the writer of a review of the March issue of the society's magazine which appears in the *Springfield [Massachusetts] Weekly Republican* for April 13. He objects, however, to what he describes as "a discordantly controversial note" introduced by Professor Nevins in reviewing *Historical Scholarship in America*.

Seventeen additions have been made to the membership of the society since April 1. The names of the new members, grouped by counties, follow:

HENNEPIN: George E. Anderson, Harry M. Brown, Louise Chapman, and B. Irene Williams, all of Minneapolis.

HOUSTON: Percy W. Steffen of Caledonia.

MCLEOD: Mrs. Hilliard H. Holm of Glencoe.

OTTER TAIL: N. F. Field of Fergus Falls.

RAMSEY: Mrs. Julian B. Baird, Katharine Dame, Leigh T. Knowles, Mrs. Lucius P. Ordway, Mrs. Edwin W. Osborne, and Mrs. William J. O'Toole, all of St. Paul.

ST. LOUIS: Mrs. Nordahl T. Ryken of Cook.

SHERBURNE: James W. Clark of Elk River.

NONRESIDENT: Walter F. Dickinson of Jerico, Long Island, New York, and Dr. Milton J. Geyman of Santa Barbara, California.

During the same three months the society lost ten active members by death: Ary E. Zonne of Minneapolis, April 9; Arthur Miller of Minneapolis, April 11; Jessie W. Pendergast of Bemidji, April 19; C. H. Van Campen of Minneapolis, April 24; James M. McConnell of St. Paul, April 29; Charles W. Gillam of St. Paul, May 13; Eugene J. Stilwell of Minneapolis, May 15; Solomon G. Comstock of Moorhead, June 3; George W. Sugden of Mankato, June 4; and Litton E. Shields of St. Paul, June 8.

The series of radio talks presented by the society over WLB, the University of Minnesota broadcasting station, was concluded with eight talks given on Monday evenings at 7:00 p. m. from April 3 to May 22. The subjects of the talks and the speakers follow: "The Story of Minnesota's Iron Mines" by Miss Nute, "Manufacture, Trade, and the Growth of Cities" by Mr. Van Koughnet, "The Organization and Progress of Labor" by Mr. Larsen, "Higher Education in Minnesota" by Miss Fawcett, "The Establishment of the Churches" by Miss Nute, "The Immigrant Churches in Minnesota" by Dr. George M. Stephenson of the University of Minnesota, "The Expansion of Minnesota's Population" by Miss Jerabek, and "A Generation of Social Progress" by Miss Heilbron. A general survey of the ground covered in the entire series of talks was presented by Mr. William S. Gibson of the radio station on May 29. Like the earlier talks, these are appearing in the current issues of the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly*.

In addition to the radio talks in the Minnesota history series over WLB and talks presented during the week of May 8 in connection with the Minnesota "Diamond Jubilee" celebration, members of the staff gave a large number of addresses before varied audiences during April, May, and June. The superintendent spoke at the organization meeting of the Hubbard County Historical Society at Park Rapids on April 19, to the "Y's Men's Club" of St. Paul on "Introducing Minnesota History" on April 27, and at the dedication of the Old Crossing treaty memorial at Huot on "Monuments and History" on June 25. Miss Nute spoke on "Pioneer Women" before the Okiyaka Club of St. Paul on April 3 and before a group of the women's auxiliary of the American Legion in Minneapolis on April 27, on "The Voyageur" before the Reading Room Society of St. Cloud on May 4, on Minnesota history before the brotherhood of Faith Lutheran Church of St. Paul on May 9, on "The Lure of Manuscripts" before a conference of the Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs at Worthington on May 20, and on the work of the manuscript division before the Zonta Club of St. Paul on June 20. She also presented a paper on "Ways and Means in a Manuscript Division" at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Chicago on April 15. At the same meeting, on April 14, Mr. Babcock gave a paper entitled "Life at Old Fort Clark in the

"Thirties." He also spoke before the South St. Paul chapter of the P. E. O. on "Highways and History" on May 16, before the Minnesota Archeological Society meeting in the Historical Building on "Some Opportunities for Archeological Work in Minnesota" on June 7, and on "Some Problems of a Small Museum Curator" before the American Association of Museums meeting in Chicago on June 13. Mr. Van Koughnet spoke on "Minnesota's Admission to Statehood" before the Sibley chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution at White Bear Lake on April 20, and on "Highlights of Social Life in Pioneer Minnesota" before a group of students at South High School in Minneapolis on May 4.

In the course of his researches Dr. Richard O. Beard of the Mayo Clinic searched both abroad and in America for a certain rare book. When he found a copy of it in the society's library, he wrote a generous letter to the superintendent in which he said, "What a priceless possession to the State is the Minnesota Historical Society, to which we so frequently turn for help in time of research need." In commenting on the work of the society he added, "The store of its treasures of knowledge saved out of the past is the very beginning of wisdom."

The note on "The American Fur Company's Post at the Great Oasis" which Mr. R. J. Forrest contributed to the March issue of MINNESOTA HISTORY is reprinted under the title "Early History of Murray County" in the *Lake Wilson Pilot* of April 20.

The project for marking historic sites that is being carried out by the Minnesota Historical Society in coöperation with the state highway department was recently characterized as the "most advanced highway program of historical marking in the Middle West" by Mr. Verne E. Chatelain, national park historian.

ACCESSIONS

The letter books of the bureau of Indian affairs for the period following the organization of Minnesota Territory in 1849 are rich in material on Indian schools, missions, agents, farmers, and annuities, vaccination to prevent the spread of smallpox among the natives, trading posts, trading licenses, and government roads in the new

territory, according to the calendar cards received recently from Dr. Newton D. Mereness, the archival agent in Washington for a group of historical agencies. Cards for the letters received by the bureau during the period from 1827 to 1833 also have been made, but these reveal only occasional references to the Minnesota Indians and their agent, Lawrence Taliaferro.

The Sioux mission in Yellow Medicine County, fatalities among the Indian children from mumps and whooping cough, and the alarm that followed the Spirit Lake massacre are touched upon in letters of Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, transcripts of which have been made recently for the society from originals in the archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Boston. From the *Dayspring* for 1846, a rare publication of the board, a file of which is preserved in the Congregational House in Boston, photostatic copies of a number of pictures illustrating life among the Chippewa have been made. They are based upon sketches made by Granville T. Sproat, a missionary at La Pointe, and they show the interior of a lodge, women building a lodge, and warriors playing la crosse.

A vivid picture of pioneer life on a claim near Eden Prairie is presented in the autobiography of Mrs. Mary Jane Anderson, which has been received from her son-in-law, Mr. Luther Twichell of Minneapolis. Mrs. Anderson describes a trip from Ireland to New Orleans and up the Mississippi to Galena in 1850, her removal to Minnesota in 1854, a visit to Minneapolis to file a claim at the land office, the arrival of the first sewing machine and the first reaper in the neighborhood, and the building of a little Presbyterian church, for which contributions were made in produce.

The Falls of St. Anthony, a school opened in St. Paul by Harriet E. Bishop, the Watab Indian treaty of 1853, the organization of churches at various places in Minnesota, and plans for establishing a Presbyterian college at Mankato are among the subjects touched upon in extracts from the *New York Evangelist* for the years 1847 to 1859, which have been copied for the society from a file of that periodical in the Congregational Library in Boston (see *ante*, p. 100).

A photostatic copy of the deed made in 1851 by which Charles Bazille transferred to the Territory of Minnesota the land that was used as the site of the old state capitol has been made for the society

from the official copy in the office of the Ramsey County register of deeds.

Certificates of admission to the courts of Maine, Minnesota, Nevada, and California, and to the United States Supreme Court, and commissions as United States district attorney for Minnesota and as attorney general of Nevada, issued to George A. Nourse between 1854 and 1876, have been presented by his daughter, Miss Ethel Nourse of Berkeley, California, through the courtesy of Mrs. Emma North Messer.

A history of school district number 5, Mendota Township, Dakota County, by Mrs. George H. Staples of St. Paul, has been presented to the society by the district school board. Mrs. Staples quotes extensively from a volume of minutes covering the years from 1859 to 1875 and other records of the school district, which are owned by the Minnesota Historical Society.

A photostatic copy of a letter written to Mrs. Silas H. Rankin by Mrs. B. A. Little from Kasota on September 26, 1862, when the horror of the Sioux Outbreak was fresh in the mind of the writer, has been presented by Mr. Edward F. Humphrey of Hartford, Connecticut, through the courtesy of the owner of the original, Mr. Arthur B. Fowler, also of Hartford, a great-grandson of Mrs. Rankin. The writer mentions the names of some of the victims and relates that the savages "brag[g]ed that they could get the whole of Minnesota Valley before they would meet with any opposition, they said nobody was left but old men and boys. It seems almost a mystery why they did not accomplish their object," she continues, and she remarks that the ultimate victory of the whites was "probably owing to the few brave men we had left."

A copy of the memoirs of T. R. Stewart, describing pioneer life at Caledonia and guard duty at Camp Pope in Minnesota and at Petersburg, Virginia, during the Civil and Indian wars, has been made for the society through the courtesy of his daughter, Miss Mary L. Stewart of Caledonia. The earlier portion of the narrative appears in the *Caledonia Journal* for May 1 to October 2, 1929.

News of the progress of the Sioux War and a report of the death of Little Crow are contained in a letter written by Ignatius Don-

nelly from Nininger on August 8, 1863, to Captain James M. Bowler of the Third Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, which has been presented by Mr. James M. Law of St. Paul through the courtesy of Mr. Jefferson Jones of Minneapolis.

Several folders of correspondence and genealogical material, dating from 1814 to 1933, have been added by Mr. Victor Robertson of St. Paul to his family papers already in the possession of the society (*see ante*, 5:307, 14:219).

A sketch entitled "Residents of Old Otter Tail City," by Charles R. Wright of Fergus Falls, which includes data that have been gleaned from the business advertisements of an early newspaper and from tax lists and recorded deeds, is the gift of the author.

An intimate picture of student and faculty life at Luther College, Decorah, Iowa, between 1877 and 1881 is contained in an autobiographical sketch by the late Andrew A. Veblen, an instructor at the college during that period, which has been presented by his son, Professor Oswald Veblen of Princeton University.

Correspondence, newspaper clippings, and minutes of meetings of the Minnesota State Forestry Association from 1876 to 1903 are contained in a volume presented by Mr. Henry Schmitz of the division of forestry of the University of Minnesota.

Two brief articles entitled "Indian Troubles at Walker in 1898" and "Indian Troubles and Wars in Morrison, Crow Wing and Adjoining Counties" by Val. E. Kasparek of Little Falls are the gift of the author. In the latter the writer discusses the reasons why the Chippewa did not go to the aid of the Sioux in the outbreak of 1862 and states that, according to an eye witness, the Chippewa Indian agent, Lucius G. Walker, did not commit suicide but was murdered and robbed of money that he was taking to the northern Indians.

A copy of the articles of organization of the Lavocat-Martin Family Association, which were adopted at the fifth annual reunion and picnic of the members of this family at Newell Park in St. Paul on June 4, has been presented by Miss Matilda V. Baillif of Minneapolis. The members of the association trace direct blood kinship to Anne Claude Jacquin Lavocat-Martin, a French immigrant of 1845.

A "History of Certification of Teachers in Minnesota" by Mrs. Eva Emerson Wold, a study of "Some Attitudes Toward Mexican Immigration into the U. S. since 1914" by Hjalmer E. Frivold, and a survey of "Travel Literature of the Minnesota Frontier, 1804-1858" by Margaret Snyder, have been presented by the authors. The first two were prepared as master's theses at the University of Minnesota; Miss Snyder's thesis was presented at the University of the City of Toledo.

Biographical sketches of James A. Martin, Harry A. Hageman, Edwin S. Thompson, Moritz Heim, William J. Quinn, Francis J. Rosenthal, John S. Crooks, Edward A. Cooper, John P. Galbraith, William F. Hunt, and Frederick W. Zollman, deceased members of the Ramsey County Bar Association, have been received from that organization.

Five scrapbooks kept by Charles M. Loring of Minneapolis from 1875 to 1922 reflecting his interest in parks and tree culture are the gift of Mr. Harold R. Ward of Minneapolis. They include a group of congratulatory letters sent to Loring on Arbor Day, 1916, which in his honor was called "Loring Day." Among the writers are Maria Sanford, James M. Morris, Fred B. Snyder, and Edward C. Gale.

An imperfect copy of a rare pamphlet—*An Account of a Voyage up the Mississippi River, from St. Louis to Its Source*—in which is presented the earliest printed account of Zebulon M. Pike's expedition into the Minnesota country in 1805 and 1806 has been received from the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester. A photostatic copy of this work, which was published anonymously in 1807 and was, according to the title page, "Compiled from Mr. Pike's Journal," was already in the possession of the society (see *ante*, 10: 79). It is interesting to note that a portion of a manuscript in the Library of Congress which bears the same title as this pamphlet and which seems "to be the original of the latter" is contributed with an introduction and notes by Wilhelmina G. Stockwell to volume 2 of a work entitled *New Spain and the Anglo-American West*—a collection of "Historical Contributions presented to Herbert Eugene Bolton" (1932).

A German translation of Carver's *Travels*, published at Hamburg in 1780 under the title *Reisen durch die innern Gegenden von Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1766, 1767 und 1768*, and a number of interesting works dealing with German emigration and with the German element in the United States have been acquired recently by the society. The latter include Fridrich Arends' *Schilderung des Mississippithales, oder des Westen der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (Emden, 1838); Freimund Goldmann's *Briefe aus Wisconsin in Nord-Amerika* (Leipzig, 1849); Jonas H. Gudehus' *Meine Auswanderung nach Amerika im Jahre 1822, und meine Rückkehr in die Heimath im Jahre 1825* (Hildesheim, 1829); Karl Postl's *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika*, which is published in two volumes under the pseudonym "C. Sidons" (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1827); and three works dealing with the Stephanites, a religious sect, and their American settlements.

A wealth of material on the Lake Superior country and the upper Northwest is to be found in the *Canadian Journal of Industry, Science, and Art*, fifteen volumes of which, covering the years 1856 to 1878, have been acquired recently by the society. Such well-known writers as Paul Kane and Henry Y. Hind are among the contributors. The society also has added to its library two volumes of the *British American Magazine* for 1863 and 1864, which was edited by Hind.

Two elaborately ornamented buffalo robes, probably of Siouan origin, which once belonged to Bishop Henry B. Whipple, are the gift of his granddaughter, Mrs. J. W. Burt of St. Paul. Scenes of Indian life are painted on one; the other is decorated with dyed goose quills and worsted. The robes are said to date from the late seventies.

A stone war club and a beaded shoulder band are the gifts of Mrs. A. D. Polk of Brainerd. Mr. C. E. Van Cleve of Minneapolis has presented an Indian war club with a double stone head.

Dr. James C. Ferguson and Mr. William R. Mandigo of St. Paul each have presented a set of apothecary's scales. From the latter a small case of surgical instruments also has been received.

Two heavy pairs of calked shoes, of the type used by lumberjacks when driving logs, have been presented by Mr. Quinton Franklin and

Mr. Roy Hennings, both of St. Paul. The General Wrecking Company of Virginia, through the courtesy of Mr. D. A. Mitchell of Mountain Iron, has added to the lumber camp collection a neck yoke used in hauling logs, a set of loading rigging, and a set of eveners.

A trench knife, a small shell, and a belt with twenty-six German military badges attached which was found on the battle field of St. Mihiel are the gifts of Mr. Samuel Auge of St. Paul. Other additions to the military collection include a bayonet that was used in the Franco-Prussian War, from Mr. William Pohl of St. Paul; and a handmade bullet mold, from Mr. Donald Johnson of Ashby.

A skiving knife and files used in New York from 1850 to 1890 in tanning hides are the gifts of Mr. Fred Martin of Minneapolis.

Among the costumes acquired during the past quarter are wedding dresses of brown moiré silk worn in 1888 and of white crêpe de chine dating from 1899, presented by Miss Margaret E. Oldenburg and Mrs. Russell G. Powers, both of Minneapolis; and some articles of children's clothing made in the eighties and nineties, received from Mrs. Amelia I. Busch of St. Paul. A lady's gold watch dating from 1875 and a cake mold made by hand in 1847 are the gifts of Miss Mary Croghan through the courtesy of Mrs. James E. Dore of St. Paul. A brass candlestick, candle snuffers, a candle mold, the head of a spinning wheel, two hatchels used for cleaning flax, several hanks of tow, and a hank of linen thread have been received from Mr. Arthur D. Wicks of Brownsdale.

A pen and ink sketch, by an unknown artist, of Fort Ripley in 1862 is the gift of the Colonial chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, through the courtesy of Mrs. Helen Nunnally of Minneapolis. Mr. Russell A. Plimpton, director of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, has presented a photograph of a painting of Fort Snelling by Seth Eastman, the well-known artist of western and Indian life. A picture of Colonel Lucius F. Hubbard and his staff of the Fifth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, taken after the battle of Corinth in October, 1862, is the gift of Miss Eugenie F. McGrorty of St. Paul. Seventy-eight prints made from the Sweet-Jacoby negatives of views in St. Anthony and early Minneapolis and fifty-six prints from the C. R. Wales collection have been received from the *Minneapolis Journal*.

NEWS AND COMMENT

"There is need of a broader treatment of American history, to supplement the purely nationalistic presentation to which we are accustomed," writes Herbert E. Bolton in an article entitled "The Epic of Greater America," which appears in the April issue of the *American Historical Review*. He suggests that the "study of thirteen English colonies and the United States in isolation has obscured many of the larger factors in their development, and helped to raise up a nation of chauvinists." The writer goes on to point out that certain broad phases of American history which in the past have been treated "as though they were applicable to one country alone" in reality "are but phases common to most portions of the entire Western Hemisphere; that each local story will have clearer meaning when studied in the light of the others; and that much of what has been written of each national history is but a thread out of a larger strand."

The publication of the first three volumes of a series of "Territorial Papers of the United States," which the department of state expected to issue in the early autumn, has been postponed as a result of government economy measures. According to the editor, Dr. Clarence E. Carter, these volumes will include a general introduction for the series and papers relating to the Northwest Territory. They have been set up and the type will be held until funds are available for their publication. Copy for the volumes containing the papers of the Southwest, Mississippi, and Indiana territories is ready to be placed in the hands of the printer, and copy for additional volumes is being prepared.

Types of historical records that are worthy of preservation and methods of caring for them are described by Solon J. Buck, formerly superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society and now director of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, in an article entitled "Local History and the Local Library," which appears in *Pennsylvania Library Notes* for January. The collection of the "multitudinous records of the present, which will soon be the past

and therefore the subject of history . . . is an opportunity for every local library to render a service of very great value to the future of its community," writes Dr. Buck.

"History is the meeting-place of poetry and fact—for the function of the historian is both to record and to interpret," writes J. H. B. Plymouth in an article on "The Teaching of Local History," which appears in the English magazine *History* for April. The writer adds that "No history teacher is fulfilling his mission unless he is helping his students to realise that it is one thing to interpret facts, another thing to distort them."

"The old conception of the museum as a place to house valuable collections to be examined by the public, or even not to be examined, has been so displaced that it seems reasonable to project the possibility of many future museums that will be merely store houses for material to be distributed to various educational centers and replaced in rotation," writes John V. Van Pelt in a *Study of Educational Work Proposed for the Museum of the City of New York*, which has been published by the museum as a *Special Bulletin* (1932. 60 p.).

An exhaustive study of the *Indians of Canada* by Diamond Jenness has been published by the National Museum of Canada as number 65 of its *Bulletins* (Ottawa, 1932. 446 p.). Many of the chapters on such general subjects as languages, food, hunting and fishing, dress, dwellings, travel and transportation, social life, religion, and folk lore are of value for a study of the Indians of the Northern United States as well as for those of Canada. Among the specific tribes that are discussed in the volume are the Sioux and the Chippewa. Numerous illustrations add greatly to the value of the book.

Special attention is given to the province of Ontario in a brief account of "The Indian in Our Literature" which is contributed to the *Ontario Library Review* by Dr. R. W. Shaw. Some mention is made of William W. Warren, the Minnesota Chippewa.

A remarkable collection of more than four hundred books, maps, and prints relating to the Mississippi River has been received by the library of Knox College at Galesburg, Illinois, from the estate of the late Preston Player of New York. Included in the collection are twenty-seven Currier and Ives prints of Mississippi River scenes,

and thirty early maps showing the Mississippi Valley. Among the books is a copy of the rare German work by Henry Lewis entitled *Das illustrirte Mississippithal*. Less than twenty copies of the original edition of this work are known in America; one is in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society.

In a volume on the *Early Far West* (New York, 1931. 411 p.), W. J. Ghent includes a number of brief references to the Minnesota country. The founding of Fort Snelling (p. 156), the origin of the Northwest Angle (p. 166), the beginnings of the Red River settlement (p. 178), and Indian treaties and land cessions (p. 263) are among the points touched upon. The story of the exploration and settlement of the upper Mississippi country up to the time when Minnesota Territory was organized in 1849 also is outlined (p. 380-382).

An outline for "individual and group study" of the *Romance of the Western Frontier* has been prepared by Professor Fletcher M. Green and published by the University of North Carolina as volume 11, number 8 of its *Extension Bulletins* (1932. 75 p.). The various topics included are treated in brief outline, with bibliographical suggestions. The Middle West seems to be almost entirely neglected, and a phase of western history that is not touched upon is immigration.

An indenture drawn up in 1832 to embody the terms of the sale of certain shares in the X Y Company from the estate of John Mure to Edward Ellice is published under the title "A Document Concerning the Union of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company" in the *Canadian Historical Review* for June. It is accompanied by an informing introduction by G. deT. Glazebrook.

"Present-day Mid-America for all its material development . . . is not oblivious of the spiritual *élan* that carried the soldiers of the Cross into the trackless West to consecrate by their presence its lakes and rivers, its prairies and city-sites and to lend a note of undying idealism to the entire story of pioneer western beginnings" writes Gilbert J. Garraghan in an article on "The Ecclesiastical Rule of Old Quebec in Mid-America," which appears in the April number of the *Catholic Historical Review*. He surveys briefly the activities of the Catholic church in the Mississippi Valley to 1791, when the

authority of the bishop of Quebec in the region was replaced by that of the bishop of Baltimore; and he touches upon the activities of such exploring missionaries as Fathers Ménard, Allouez, Marquette, and Hennepin.

Some material on Catholic missionary activity in the Northwest is included in a study of the "Leopoldine Foundation and the Church in the United States (1829-1839)" by Theodore Roemer, which appears in volume 13 of the *Monograph Series* published by the United States Catholic Historical Society (New York, 1933). The writer presents brief accounts of the work of Bishop Mathias Loras and of Father Frederic Baraga.

The presidential address of Dr. John D. Hicks, delivered before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association meeting in Chicago on April 13, appears under the title "The Third Party Tradition in American Politics" in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June. From John Randolph and his Quids to the Farmer-Laborites of the present, Dr. Hicks surveys the part played by the element of revolt in national politics. "It is not so much in the terms of victories won and candidates elected that the importance of third party movements should be assessed," he concludes. "What is of infinitely greater consequence is the final success of so many of the principles for which they have fought. . . . The list of third party principles that have finally won out is formidable." The historian, according to Dr. Hicks, "cannot ignore the fact that in a remarkable number of instances third parties marked out in advance the course that later on the nation was to follow." To the same number of the *Review*, Earle D. Ross contributes an article on "Horace Greeley and the West." He points out that Greeley's "special regard for the West was due to his realization . . . of that section's basic place and determining influences in national life."

Harold A. Innis contributes an article on the "Fur Trade and Industry" to volume 6 of the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* edited by Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson (New York, 1931).

An interesting sidelight on the character and achievements of Henry R. Schoolcraft is provided in a note by Frank Smith on "Schoolcraft, Bryant, and Poetic Fame," which appears in the May

number of *American Literature*. It appears that in 1851 Schoolcraft sent to William Cullen Bryant for criticism a long poem of Indian life entitled "The Man of Bronze," which, although written by Schoolcraft, was represented to be "by a protégé, William Hetherwold." Bryant's reply,—the original of which is among the Schoolcraft Papers in the Library of Congress,—diplomatically informing Schoolcraft that these verses cannot gain literary fame for the writer, is here published.

An informing article about "Henry Lewis and His Mammoth Panorama of the Mississippi River" by Monas N. Squires appears in the April issue of the *Missouri Historical Review*. Mr. Squires relates that Lewis exhibited his panorama, which consisted of scenes along the Mississippi from the Falls of St. Anthony to St. Louis, in the latter city in the autumn of 1849, and he quotes the comments of the *Missouri Republican*, the contemporary St. Louis newspaper, about this forerunner of the moving picture. Because Lewis began his career as an artist in St. Louis, his panorama seems to have aroused considerable interest in that city. Later he expanded his canvas to include the entire Mississippi Valley from the Falls of St. Anthony to the gulf. He seems to have spent several summers on the river, sketching from a "small boat built for the purpose." The story of Lewis' later life in Germany, where he used his sketches in the preparation of the plates for his book, *Das illustrirte Mississippithal*, also is related by Mr. Squires. From the United States department of state he has learned that Lewis served as consular agent and as American vice consul at Düsseldorf in the eighties and nineties.

Marion Nichol Rawson, in *From Here to Yender* (New York, 1932. 308 p.), has drawn deeply on her knowledge of antiquarian New England to present a charming picture of the days when roads and trails were the only means of communication between the scattered towns and villages of that region. The first four chapters tell a story of its old roads, and of the carts and buggies and stagecoaches that traveled over them. Mrs. Rawson deviates from her charted path to present detailed pictures of some phases of New England life, and she includes chapters on early beds, on pedlars and their wares, and on old graveyards. The book concludes with an interesting discussion of "short cuts" in speech—sayings that prevailed in New England during the stagecoach era. This is a valuable and inter-

esting volume of antiquarian reminiscence—a whimsical and colorful treatment of a glamorous age in American history. A. J. L.

With volumes entitled *Wigwam and Bouwerie* and *Under Duke and King* (New York, 1933. 361, 437 p.), the New York State Historical Association has inaugurated a monumental *History of the State of New York* which will be complete in ten volumes. Chapters in each volume are contributed by specialists in given fields; the work as a whole is edited by Alexander C. Flick, state historian. In this "wide-sweeping summary" of the story of New York through more than three centuries, "due and proportionate attention is paid to such human concerns as religion, literature and the other arts, social customs, professional development, education, agriculture, business, labor, racial stocks, etc., as well as to the more conventional staples of history," according to the president of the association, Dixon Ryan Fox. To supplement this general history, the association is sponsoring the publication of a *Series* of special studies, edited by Professor Fox and published by the Columbia University Press. The first of these volumes to appear is a study of *New York in the Critical Period, 1793-1799*, by E. Wilder Spaulding (1932. 334 p.).

A list of forty-five "Historical Museums in Indiana" is printed in the *Indiana History Bulletin* for April. Most of the collections listed are of a local nature and are housed in courthouses and schools.

Some information about the early life in France and the education of a pioneer Catholic bishop of the Middle West is included in a pamphlet entitled *Mathias Loras, First Bishop of Dubuque, Iowa U.S.A., and his friend Jean-Baptiste-Marie Vianney, the Holy Parish Priest of Ars*, by A. Grandjean (31 p.). The booklet, which was published in France, commemorates the part played by Loras and Vianney in the "beginning of the parish and church of Saint John the Baptist of Rive-de Gier, Loire, diocese of Lyons."

A charming account by W. A. Dostal of "Dvorak's Visit to Spillville," Iowa, in 1893, when the composer, homesick for his native land, spent the summer in this Bohemian settlement, appears in the *Iowa Catholic Historical Review* for April. The writer attempts to prove that some of Dvorak's best-known compositions, including the "American Quartette" portions of the symphony "From the New World," were written at Spillville.

Professor F. I. Herriott concludes his detailed narrative of events connected with the Spirit Lake massacre in the *Annals of Iowa* for April (see *ante*, p. 113). The final installment is entitled "The Aftermath of the Spirit Lake Massacre, March 8-15, 1857."

Explorers and missionaries, traders and voyageurs move through the early chapters of a volume entitled the *Lake Superior Country in History and in Story* by Guy M. Burnham (Boston, 1930. 464 p.). The actual scope of the narrative is limited to the region around Chequamegon Bay, extending westward as far as the Duluth country. There are chapters on the Indians, their legends and their battles; on Wisconsin's admission to the Union and the problem of its western boundary; on the industries that developed around the bay, such as iron mining, lumbering, and shipping; and on the history of Ashland. A chapter entitled "Some Characters in our History" includes sketches of many individuals who figure also in the history of Minnesota—Sherman Hall, William T. Boutwell, the Cadottes, Lewis Cass, and Henry R. Schoolcraft.

The history of a Wisconsin institution of higher learning, the *River Falls State Teachers College, 1874-1932*, is reviewed in seven chapters in a pamphlet recently issued by the college (1932. 93 p.). The beginnings of the normal school movement in Wisconsin, the founding of the River Falls school, its early courses of study, and changes in the administration of the institution are described in the first two chapters, which also include biographical sketches of some prominent teachers. The "School Plant" is the title of a third chapter, which is made up of accounts of the buildings; chapters also are devoted to athletics and forensics. The text of an historical pageant that was presented in 1924, when the school celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, is here published in full. A faculty roster concludes the pamphlet.

Manitoba mounds and objects found in them are discussed by Dr. Charles N. Bell in an article on "Prehistoric Man in Manitoba," which appears in the *Winnipeg Free Press* for January 14. He concludes that "absolutely nothing in the form of tradition or definite cause influenced this people in making their erections, which are the sole data they have left behind as to who they were, where they came from, or where they disappeared to."

THE MINNESOTA DIAMOND JUBILEE

Three-quarters of a century ago Minnesota took its place in the federal Union as the nineteenth state to be admitted after the original thirteen. Behind it were nine years of experience as a territory, used in solving the problems of settlement and development in the wilderness of the upper Mississippi. Less than a year in the background was the devastating panic of 1857. Pressing economic and financial problems, the grim inheritance of that panic, were live issues on Minnesota's birthday. Buoyant confidence in the future of the young state, however, was the keynote of sentiment on the frontier in 1858.

Today, seventy-five years later, the birthday setting is strangely paralleled. Although the backwash of another economic cataclysm besets the commonwealth, despair is again giving way to optimism. This similarity of conditions forms the basis for a better appreciation of the kinship between the complex life of the modern commonwealth and the pioneer state of 1858. Recognition of that kinship is the keynote in Governor Olson's proclamation of April 7, officially designating 1933 as Minnesota's "Diamond Jubilee Year" (see *ante*, p. 211).

In accordance with the Governor's proclamation a series of anniversary celebrations were planned for the spring and summer under the auspices of a number of state agencies. The department of conservation utilized Arbor Day, May 5, to center attention upon the wealth of Minnesota's forest and water resources; the department of education sponsored a state-wide observance of the Diamond Jubilee among the schools during the week of May 11; and during the summer the state tourist bureau emphasized the opportunities for recreation among Minnesota's myriad lakes and streams. For the observance of the historical significance of Minnesota's admission to the Union on May 11, 1858, the Minnesota Historical Society was primarily responsible.

It arranged at the Historical Building in St. Paul on Statehood Day at 3:00 P.M. a program which was attended by about two hundred people. The Minnesota Territorial Pioneers Association, which was in session at the Capitol, adjourned to attend this program. Mr. William W. Cutler, president of the Minnesota Historical Society, presided and opened the meeting with a sketch of the history of Minnesota's attainment of statehood. This was followed by a

paper on "How Minnesota Received the News of Admission to Statehood," presented by Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the society, who described the variety of reactions that were voiced in the editorial columns of Minnesota newspapers after May 11, 1858.

Dean Guy Stanton Ford of the graduate school of the University of Minnesota, formerly president of the society, who was next introduced, presented an address in which he viewed the development of the North Star State in the setting of world history. Dean Ford was followed on the program by Senator Frank B. Kellogg, whose career as senator, ambassador to Great Britain, secretary of state, recipient of the Nobel peace prize, and judge of the World Court have made him, as Mr. Cutler said in his introduction, the most distinguished citizen of Minnesota. Senator Kellogg spoke of the migration of pioneers from East to West and touched upon the coming of his own parents from New York to Minnesota in the year that saw the close of the Civil War, when he himself was a nine-year-old boy. He suggested some contrasts between frontier conditions and those of today and closed with an expression of his firm belief that America is moving upward, conquering the depression, and facing a brighter future. At the conclusion of his remarks the chairman introduced Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the society's museum, who gave an illustrated talk on Minnesota at the time of its admission to statehood.

The program came to a close with the reading by Mr. Cutler of telegrams of congratulation to Minnesota upon her seventy-fifth birthday, which were received by the society from Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and from the Wisconsin state senate. After the meeting adjourned, those who attended viewed the special statehood exhibits that were arranged in the museum, the manuscript division, and the library.

In addition to conducting an anniversary meeting on Statehood Day, the society, with the coöperation of five broadcasting stations, arranged a series of radio programs for the week of May 11. They were inaugurated on Monday, May 7, at 7:00 p.m., with a talk from station WLB by Dr. George M. Stephenson, professor of history in the University of Minnesota, on "The Immigrant Churches in Minnesota." This was presented as part of the series of weekly talks on Minnesota history given over WLB under the auspices of

the society (see *ante*, p. 328). It was followed at 7:30 p. m. by a half-hour concert from station KSTP, featuring the University of Minnesota Symphony Orchestra, under the direction of Abe Pepinsky.

On Tuesday, May 8, at 8:00 p. m., a special Minnesota program was presented from station WLB, opening with a talk by Mr. Babcock on "Indian Music and Folklore" and followed by selections of Indian music. Miss Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts for the society, sketched Minnesota's "Fur Trade Backgrounds," after which a number of voyageur songs were sung. Mr. Blegen then discussed "Sibley and His Times." The program was concluded with the playing of a number of melodies that were popular in 1858. At 9:30 p. m., from station WRHM, Mr. Arthur J. Larsen, head of the society's newspaper department, gave a talk on "Statehood for Minnesota," in which he described the maze of events that led to Minnesota's admission to the Union nearly seven months after the adoption of a constitution.

On the morning of May 11 Miss Agnes M. Larson of St. Olaf College, speaking from station WCAL at Northfield, reviewed the story of the attainment of statehood by Minnesota. At 4:00 p. m., Governor Olson gave over KSTP the address on "The Heritage of Minnesota" which appears in the June issue of *MINNESOTA HISTORY*. The Minneapolis Apollo Club, under the direction of William MacPhail, presented an hour's concert from WCCO, beginning at 9:00 p. m. The Governor was to have appeared on this program also, but was unable to be present because of illness. The anniversary programs sponsored by the society were concluded on Friday, May 12. "Highlights of Minnesota History" was the subject of a talk by Mr. Donald E. Van Koughnet, the society's research and general assistant, from WRHM at 6:30 p. m. A unique program was presented from KSTP at 9:30 p. m., portraying "The Charge of the First Minnesota" at the battle of Gettysburg. This was given by Mr. Thomas D. Rishworth with musical accompaniment by Dr. Francis Richter, both of the staff of KSTP.

At the same time that the society was carrying out its own plans for the observance of the Diamond Jubilee it encouraged observance of the anniversary throughout the state. With the assistance of a state-wide committee of about thirty persons, headed by Mr. Cutler and with Mr. Babcock as executive secretary, the society urged local communities to plan appropriate programs. A model program, suf-

ficiently general in character to be easily adapted to local conditions, was suggested. The society likewise coöperated with the department of education in drafting an anniversary program for the schools. Public interest in Minnesota's seventy-fifth birthday rapidly gathered momentum. County historical societies, schools, clubs, patriotic and fraternal organizations, business organizations, radio stations, and newspapers aided in doing honor to Minnesota's progress since 1858.

The rôle of the county historical societies in the general celebration was outstanding. The diamond anniversary was featured at the annual North Shore Historical Assembly,—a joint meeting of the historical societies of Cook, Lake, and St. Louis counties,—which was held at Lutsen on August 21. Special anniversary programs were arranged by the Cottonwood, Crow Wing, Goodhue, Meeker, Rice, Rock, and Roseau county historical societies. The celebration of the Rice County society on May 11 has special interest, for it effectively linked the history of the county with the observance of the state anniversary. Mr. Larsen, as guest speaker, gave an address on the nationalities contributing to the settlement and upbuilding of the county; and Professor I. F. Grose of St. Olaf College read a paper on the beginnings of that institution. The local picture was placed in its proper perspective by Professor C. A. Mellby, also of St. Olaf College, who recalled the salient events in Minnesota's trying struggle for statehood.

Widespread attention was given to the Diamond Jubilee in the schools. Many of them joined with county historical societies in arranging special anniversary meetings and the program suggested by the state department of education stimulated the interest of teachers throughout the state. A number of programs of an unusual character were presented. At Stillwater the pupils of the Oak Park School prepared a group of papers that were read before the Oak Park Mothers' Club on May 12. Topics such as the first settlements in the St. Croix Valley, the first steamboat in Minnesota, and pioneer children were developed by fourth-grade pupils. At Arlington an historical pageant of early Minnesota life written by H. E. Anderson, superintendent of schools, was presented on May 11 under the auspices of the local Parent-Teachers Association.

A focal point in the anniversary celebration was the pageant presented at Itasca State Park beside the headwaters of the Mississippi.

This pageant, which was given six times between July 2 and September 4, was prepared under the auspices of the Northwestern Minnesota Historical Association in coöperation with the state department of conservation and was an outgrowth of the Schoolcraft centennial pageant of 1932, also sponsored by the association. With a cast of more than five hundred, including two hundred Indians from the Cass and Red Lake reservations and two hundred members of the Civilian Conservation Corps, the pageant portrayed Minnesota's "march to statehood" with dramatizations of the Indian period, the arrival of the early explorers and fur-traders, the War of 1812, the establishment of Fort Snelling, the discovery of Lake Itasca, Minnesota's organization as a territory and admission as a state, the Indian enlistments from the state for the Civil War, and the Sioux Outbreak.

Among other Diamond Jubilee celebrations was a birthday party given by Governor Olson at the Capitol on the morning of Statehood Day in honor of sixty-six residents of Twin City homes for the aged who were born in 1858. It was held in the Governor's reception room, which was specially decorated for the occasion; and a large cake with seventy-five lighted candles contributed to the birthday atmosphere. A number of anniversary celebrations were sponsored by business organizations of the state. Under the auspices of the St. Paul Association of Commerce the merchants of that city arranged special window displays on May 20, depicting episodes in Minnesota's progress during seventy-five years. At Olivia the local Booster Club held a celebration on June 6, which combined observance of the Diamond Jubilee of the state with the seventy-eighth anniversary of the organization of Renville County and the fifty-fifth anniversary of the incorporation of the village of Olivia.

An important factor in the success of the celebration was the co-operation of the press of the state. By the use of editorials, general news stories, and pictures of early Minnesota events, both the country weeklies and the metropolitan dailies brought to their readers the significance of three-quarters of a century of statehood. The *Northfield News* for May 19 includes the entire address given by Mr. Larsen at the Rice County Historical Society's celebration. A general news story of unusual interest appears in the *Winona Republican-Herald* for May 12 with this heading: "Winona First City in Minnesota

to Get Report of State's Admission to Union; '100-Gun Salute' Fired 75 Years Ago Today."

A particularly full account of the evolution of governmental organization in Minnesota, together with pictures of Ramsey and Sibley, first governors of the territory and the state, appears as a Sunday feature story in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for April 23. Another article in the *Tribune* for May 7, gives glimpses of pioneer life and customs in the late fifties and is illustrated with pictures of some early Minneapolis scenes. Accounts of Minnesota's "double-barrelled" constitutional convention and the growth of the state since 1858 appear with pictures of the three successive capital buildings since 1849 in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 7 and the *Duluth News Tribune* for May 14.

A number of newspapers stimulated interest in the Diamond Jubilee through special activities. The *Brainerd Daily Dispatch*, in co-operation with the Crow Wing County Historical Society, conducted a contest to locate the pioneer men and women of the county, who were the guests of the society at a meeting held at Brainerd on May 11. The *Stillwater Daily Gazette*, in connection with anniversary stories that appear in the issues for May 11 and 17, lists the names of pioneers now residing in Stillwater and its vicinity who were living in Minnesota in 1858. The anniversary also was the occasion for a number of Minnesota stories in the papers of other states. For example, the first permanent school in St. Paul and the diverse nationalities of the early pioneers are featured in an article that appears in the *Christian Science Monitor* of Boston for May 8.

Observance of Minnesota's Diamond Jubilee will continue during the autumn in many parts of the state. Additional celebrations of special interest will be reviewed in future numbers of this magazine.

D.E.V.K.

GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg contributes sketches of three French explorers—La Salle, La Vérendrye, and Le Sueur—to volume 11 of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, edited by Dumas Malone for the American Council of Learned Societies (New York, 1933). An American explorer of the upper Northwest, Stephen H. Long, is the subject of a biography by Harrison C. Dale. The career of

Henry Leavenworth, the soldier who established the post now known as Fort Snelling, is reviewed by W. J. Ghent, who also contributes a sketch of Little Crow V. Mr. Ghent deals harshly with the Indian leader of the Sioux War of 1862. He pictures Little Crow as a dissolute character "with few redeeming qualities" who was "chiefly responsible" for the outbreak. He seems to be unaware that some of the contemporary judgments of the Sioux War period have been considerably modified as a result of the perspective of two generations, and that there is a revisionist view of the causes of the outbreak. George M. Stephenson is the author of sympathetic accounts of two prominent recent political leaders of Minnesota, John Lind and Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr. William G. Le Duc's varied activities in both the local and national fields are described by Claribel R. Barnett. The careers of two civic and business leaders of Minneapolis, Charles M. Loring and Thomas Lowry, are discussed by Lester B. Shippee; Oliver W. Holmes contributes a sketch of Electus B. Litchfield, the railroad-builder for whom a Minnesota town is named; and Carl W. Mitman is the author of an account of Marshall B. Lloyd, inventor and manufacturer, who was born in St. Paul and who developed a large manufacturing plant in Minneapolis in the nineties. The life of Mathias Loras, the first bishop of Dubuque, is outlined by M. M. Hoffman; and the career of Peter L. Larsen, who founded Luther College at Decorah, Iowa, and a number of Norwegian Lutheran congregations in Minnesota, is described by J. Magnus Rohne. John H. Frederick writes of Charles Macalester, who in 1873 contributed the land in Minneapolis on which Macalester College, now in St. Paul, was originally built.

A large illustrated map of Minnesota which gives much statistical information about the state and its resources has been issued by the tourist bureau of the Minnesota department of conservation.

Brief statements that should be useful to tourists about *Minnesota State Parks and Monuments* make up a pamphlet recently issued by the Minnesota department of conservation (12 p.). The historic significance and scenic attractions of the twenty state parks in Minnesota are set forth, and nine monument sites are located and described.

A dugout canoe or boat discovered buried in mud in a swamp on the shores of Auburn Lake in Carver County is described in the

Weekly Valley Herald of Chaska for June 22. The theory is advanced that the boat is of Indian workmanship and that it is at least two hundred years old, since it shows evidence of having been shaped with stone implements. Pictures of the boat accompany the article.

The ancient portage trail that led around the Falls of St. Anthony was marked on May 18, when a bronze tablet at the east end of the Washington Avenue Bridge in Minneapolis was dedicated by the Minnesota chapter of the Daughters of American Colonists. The marker bears the following inscription: "From time immemorial, Indians, traders, and explorers among whom were Hennepin and Carver, have used the Mississippi river as a highway of travel. Unloading their canoes at the bend just below here they plodded up the portage trail, across what is now the University campus, and along the bluffs, to a point one half mile above the falls of St. Anthony." Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, and Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of its museum, were among the speakers who took part in the dedication ceremonies.

"This boulder marks the glacial Lake Agassiz shore line and lies on Campbell Beach, the third stage of the lake at one thousand feet above sea level," reads the inscription on a bronze marker placed by the Lake Agassiz chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution on a farm near Glyndon and dedicated on May 27. A picture of the marker and an account of the dedication ceremonies appear in the *Fargo Forum* for May 28.

Nearly five thousand people attended the dedication at Huot on June 25 of the Old Crossing treaty memorial erected by the United States government to commemorate the signing on October 2, 1863, of the treaty by which the Red River Valley was opened to settlement. The monument took the form of a life-size figure of a Chippewa Indian and was executed by Carl C. Mose. The Honorable C. G. Selvig of Crookston presided at the ceremonies. The program included a presentation speech by Mark L. Burns, superintendent of the Consolidated Chippewa Agency at Cass Lake; an acceptance on behalf of the state of North Dakota by Joseph Rabinovich of Grand Forks; an address on behalf of the Chippewa by Edward L. Rogers of Walker; and a dedication address by Dr. Theodore C. Blegen of the Minnesota Historical Society, representing Minnesota. In reviewing the history of the Old Crossing treaty the last speaker made

considerable use of the unpublished diary of Alexander Ramsey, the principal treaty commissioner, and pictured the scene at the Old Crossing in 1863. The printed program issued for the dedication exercises includes a brief account of the Old Crossing treaty by John Saugstad and a description and map of the area ceded by the treaty. Among the illustrations are facsimile reproductions of some pages of the original treaty as preserved at Washington.

The well-known story of the settlers from the Red River colony who made a trip to Prairie du Chien in the spring of 1820 and returned in Mackinac boats loaded with seed for use in the settlement is retold in the *Inter-Lake Tribune* of Browns Valley for June 8. On their return, the settlers took their cargo up the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, through Lakes Big Stone and Traverse to the Bois des Sioux, and down that stream and the Red River to their northern home. On this occasion, according to the *Tribune*, "Big Stone lake was used for transportation for the first time by the white man in furthering agriculture."

The system of stagecoach lines developed in Minnesota by James C. Burbank in the fifties and sixties is described by Paul Thompson of Winona in an interview published in the *Winona Republican-Herald* for April 22. According to Mr. Thompson, Burbank's lines covered some thirteen hundred miles and in 1865 his firm employed two hundred men and used seven hundred horses. A portrait of Burbank accompanies the article.

A "Memorial Edition" of Randolph Edgar's *A Record of Old Boats: Being an Account of Steam Navigation on Lake Minnetonka between 1860 and the Present Time* has been edited by Ward C. Burton and published by Grace Wainwright Edgar (Minneapolis, 1933, 61 p.). The first edition was brought out in 1926 and was noted as an "unusually interesting booklet" in the issue of this magazine for March, 1927. The original text has now been considerably revised and a section of author's notes, prepared in 1931 shortly before Mr. Edgar's death, has been added. Something of the charm of Minnetonka in the glamorous days of the "City of St. Louis" is caught in Mr. Edgar's chronicle. There is more than a hint, too, of regret over the passing of a colorful era. "Ninety-seven steam-boats have blown their whistles at various times as they approached the Excelsior docks where today the fleet numbers two." The book-

let contains a dozen interesting illustrations drawn from the admirable collection of Lake Minnetonka steamboat pictures assembled by Mr. Edgar. This collection, as has been noted above (12:432), was presented to the Minnesota Historical Society in 1931 by William C. Edgar, the father of Randolph Edgar.

Historical and descriptive information about Lake Minnetonka is combined in a pamphlet by Selma E. Mattson entitled *Minnetonka the Beautiful* (Mound, 1932. 24 p.). Credit for discovering the lake is given to Joseph R. Brown and for popularizing it to Governor Ramsey. Its development as a summer resort until it became one of the central summer playgrounds of the nation, frequented particularly by southerners, is briefly described and some of the many hotels that appeared on Minnetonka's shores are noted. The histories of some of its towns—Excelsior, Mound, Wayzata—also are outlined. The pamphlet includes a map of the lake, showing its many bays and its irregular shore line.

The land acquired by the treaty negotiated with the Chippewa at Fort Snelling in 1837 is described as "lying for the most part, in the bleak and sterile regions of the north" by Thomas Gregg in one of three "Letters from the Occident" that he wrote in the summer and fall of 1837 for the *New York Daily Express*. The letters have been reprinted with an introduction and notes by Philip D. Jordan in the January issue of the *Annals of Iowa*. Gregg, who published a paper known as the *Western Adventurer and Herald of the Upper Mississippi* at Montrose in the present state of Iowa, devotes most of a letter dated September 5, 1837, to the treaty of that year. Despite his unfavorable opinion of the region acquired from the Indians, he believed that the purchase would "greatly facilitate the settlement of the whole Mississippi Valley," and that the "inexhaustible quantities of pine" growing along the northern rivers would prove of great value.

A brief sketch of James K. Hosmer, librarian of the Minneapolis Public Library from 1874 to 1892, is included in the *Hosmer Genealogy* by George L. Hosmer (Cambridge, 1928).

Much material about the history of a fraternal organization, the Minnesota Catholic Order of Foresters, appears in the *Red Lake Falls Gazette* for June 8. Members of the order held their "Golden Jubilee triennial convention" at Red Lake Falls from June 12 to 14.

LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

Plans for a local history essay contest to be conducted in the Blue Earth County schools in the fall were formulated by the trustees of the Blue Earth County Historical Society at a meeting held at Mankato on May 3.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the Garden City Christian Church, which was celebrated by members of the congregation on May 7, was the occasion for the presentation of a pageant depicting the history of the church. The pageant is described and an historical sketch of the church is presented in the *Mankato Free Press* for May 12.

An attempt to build public water works in New Ulm in 1887 is described in an article in the *New Ulm Review* for April 6. The sum of a thousand dollars was raised to finance the undertaking, and a huge well from which the water was obtained was sunk.

An exhibit of pictures, newspaper clippings, and articles connected with the history of the First Methodist Church of New Ulm was arranged in connection with the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding, which was celebrated by members of the congregation from May 26 to 28. An historical sketch of the church by Edward L. Alwin appears in the *Brown County Journal* of New Ulm for May 26.

The Swedish Methodist Episcopal Church of Lindstrom, which was founded at Center City in 1858, celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary on June 15, 16, and 18. The history of the congregation was reviewed by the Reverend E. A. Wahlquist, a former pastor.

The early history of the Lac qui Parle region is recalled in a pamphlet entitled *Watson Community Pioneers* by J. J. Oyen (48 p.), which consists of articles originally published in the *Watson Voice* from February 19 to June 4, 1931 (see *ante*, 12:206). In addition to the material on exploration, settlement, and county organization that is usually found in community histories of this type, Mr. Oyen's narrative includes some unusually interesting chapters on pioneer agriculture and agricultural methods in Chippewa County.

A trip in a lumber wagon on July 3, 1867, from Freeborn to Itasca and the Fourth of July celebration of the next day at Albert

Lea are described in an article prepared in 1908 by the late J. E. Simms of Albert Lea and published in the *Albert Lea Evening Tribune* for May 15. A parade in which "thirty-eight girls, dressed in white to represent the number of states in the union," marched; an oration; a barbecue; and a musical program were features of this pioneer Fourth of July celebration.

Historical sketches of three early Methodist Episcopal churches of Goodhue County, located at Nerstrand, Kenyon, and Dennison, appear in the *Kenyon Leader* for June 23 and 30. The seventy-seventh anniversary of their founding was celebrated in a union service held at Kenyon on June 18, when these histories were presented.

The history of the *Spring Garden Lutheran Church* is reviewed in a pamphlet issued in connection with the celebration of its seventy-fifth anniversary, which took place from June 4 to 6 (44 p.). Considerable information about the development of the Swedish settlement in Leon Township, Goodhue County, which the church serves, is included.

The Hubbard County Historical Society, which was organized in April (see *ante*, p. 236), adopted a constitution at a meeting held at Park Rapids on May 17. A membership committee also was appointed at this meeting.

The *Park Rapids Enterprise*, in its issue for April 6, called upon Hubbard County pioneers to write accounts of their early experiences in the region in order that it might "learn who are the oldest living residents in each township of our county." Many of the reminiscent letters received in response to this request have been published in the *Enterprise*.

For an essay on the early history of Kanabec County Miss Rosabelle Hamann of Mora was awarded the first prize in an historical essay contest conducted in the Mora schools, and Miss Jennie Wenberg received the second prize. The prizes of five and ten dollars were offered by Mr. Arthur G. Peterson of Washington, D. C. Miss Hamann's essay is published in the *Kanabec County Times* of Mora for June 22, and the following comment by Mr. Peterson appears under the heading "Know Your County" in the same issue:

Questions often arise about one's county or home town and because of the lack of a convenient and authoritative source of information we are unable to give an adequate answer to these questions.

Officials, trade organizations, and business men receive inquiries almost daily from outsiders who are interested in the county or the community from a business or residence point of view. Knowledge of the growth and character of population, industries, agriculture, schools and other institutions, geography and natural resources, transportation facilities, and wealth and taxation are of vital importance to the establishment and wise planning of any business enterprise.

The idol of present-mindedness leads us to see and judge things too much in the light of present conditions. A knowledge of the past and the direction and rate of change enables us better to estimate the economic and social conditions with which we shall be confronted ten or twenty years from now.

Mistakes in judging the future during the past century have often been offset by a rapidly growing population and an ever increasing market for farm and factory products. Today we face many new and some greatly modified economic and social problems. Hereafter, success in business will depend more and more on the ability to foresee what lies ahead and on one's alertness and opportuneness in making progressive changes.

Patrick Henry once said: "I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know no way of judging the future but by the past."

The main business of life consists of making correct guesses on the basis of insufficient information. As we enlarge our store of knowledge and the adequacy of our information, however, there is less need for guessing and more chance of guessing correctly.

Local clubs in their search for cultural topics for discussion and schoolteachers and students in connection with theme writing might well give more consideration to topics pertaining to local history.

The adventures involved in a sixteen-mile trip from a Kandiyohi County farm to Willmar in 1872 are recalled by Gabriel Stene in the *Brooten Review* for April 6. The writer transported a load of grain to the elevator, and he describes the long line of teams and drivers waiting from daylight to dark for the unloading of grain at the terminal.

The history of the Catholic colony of Ghent in Lyon County, which was established in the early eighties as a result of the activities of Archbishop Ireland, is reviewed in some detail by the Reverend John M. Pilger in the *Minneota Mascot* for June 16. The account

was prepared in connection with the celebration on June 18 of the fiftieth anniversary of the Church of St. Eloi at Ghent, of which Father Pilger is pastor. He not only gives an excellent survey of the history of the church, based upon its records, but he also presents a picture of the backgrounds of the colony and of its settlement and growth. Of special interest are the accounts of the racial groups that settled at Ghent. The arrival in 1880 of Angelus Van Hee, the first of the Belgian settlers and the man who gave the village its name, is described; the story of the many Belgian and Dutch colonists who followed this pioneer is set forth; and the addition to the colony in 1882 of a large group of French-Canadians from Illinois is noted.

The beginnings of banking activity in Little Falls and the history of the American National Bank of that city are reviewed in the *Little Falls Daily Transcript* for May 4, which calls attention to the fiftieth anniversary of the chartering of this bank.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church at Norseland in Nicollet County was appropriately celebrated by members of the congregation on June 11. A supplement published with the *St. Peter Herald* for June 9 bears the title "Norwegian Lutheran History" and is devoted to articles about the history of this church and its leaders. It includes sketches of the pastors who have served the congregation, among whom are such well-known leaders in the Norwegian Lutheran church as the Reverend Peter L. Larsen and the Reverend Bernt J. Muus; accounts of the church societies; a history of its parochial school; a sketch of a reading society and community library founded in 1875; and statistics based upon the church records. Norwegian immigration and the settlement of people of this race in Nicollet County also are given some attention. Among the illustrations are pictures of pastors and pioneer members of the congregation and views of the Norseland church. A similar supplement issued with the *Herald* of June 23 is devoted to "Swedish Lutheran History" and commemorates the diamond anniversary of the founding of the First Lutheran Church of Scandian Grove, which was celebrated on June 24 and 25. A detailed history of the congregation and church, sketches of pastors and founders, accounts of church organizations, and an outline of Swedish-American history are among the articles presented in this supplement. Considerable information about the founding of Gus-

tavus Adolphus College of St. Peter also is included. The section is profusely illustrated. In issuing these two supplements the *St. Peter Herald* has made a genuine contribution to local and state history.

A picture of the "Ruins of Fort Ridgely Barracks in 1879" is reproduced in the *Fairfax Standard* for June 1.

Historical sketches of the Westminster Presbyterian Church of Worthington, which celebrated its sixtieth anniversary from May 21 to 25, appear in the *Worthington Globe* and the *Nobles County Times* for May 18. Attention is also called to the passing of sixty years since the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Worthington was founded, and a brief account of its growth appears in the *Times*.

The fiftieth anniversary of the completion of the Great Northern Railroad to Halstad on the Red River in Norman County is commemorated by the publication of a brief history of the village and sketches of the surrounding townships, by A. O. Ueland, in the *Western Norman County Journal Review* of Halstad for June 30. Stories of the settlement and early years of the townships of Anthony, Shelly, Hendrum, Herberg, and Halstad are outlined, and brief histories of the schools and churches of Halstad are presented. The anniversary was celebrated at Halstad from June 30 to July 2.

At the summer meeting of the Otter Tail County Historical Society, which was held on the site of Otter Tail City on June 25, a granite boulder bearing the following inscription was unveiled: "This tablet commemorates Otter Tail City, the first county seat of Otter Tail County, 1858 to 1872. This site was chosen for the erection of the court house and jail. Dedicated by Otter Tail County Historical Society, June 25, 1933." On what are now cultivated fields, the historical society erected signs indicating the locations of streets and buildings of what was once a "city." Judge Anton Thompson and the Honorable John B. Hompe presented addresses at the meeting.

Nearly a hundred and fifty photographs of early scenes and events in and around Fergus Falls have been arranged in wing screens by the Otter Tail County Historical Society and placed as a permanent exhibit in the entrance hall of the courthouse at Fergus Falls. Seventy-one of the pictures were collected by the late C. D. Wright, and forty-six were assembled by the late C. D. Baker and presented

to the society by his son, Mr. Roy A. Baker. The collection has been arranged and labelled by Mr. E. T. Barnard, the secretary.

An interest in the Indian mounds of Otter Tail County is illustrated by an article in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for June 29, which is based upon an investigation conducted by Mr. C. R. Wright of Fergus Falls. The account reveals that 413 mounds have been recorded in the county, and that the largest group, composed of 73 mounds, is located east of Otter Tail Lake.

Frontier conditions were recalled in a parade that was a feature of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Henning in Otter Tail County on June 21. Sketches of pioneers who have lived in the vicinity for fifty years or more appear in the *Henning Advocate* beginning with the issue of April 20.

At a meeting held at Crookston on May 20 the Polk County Historical Society was organized. A constitution was adopted and temporary officers, who are to serve until the first annual meeting is held in October, were elected. Congressman C. G. Selvig was named president, and Mr. John Saugstad secretary and treasurer.

A two-day celebration held at McIntosh on June 16 and 17 marked the fiftieth anniversary of the Thirteen Towns of Polk County. A feature of the celebration was a "March of Progress" parade, in which floats depicting the history of these communities participated. The *McIntosh Times* for June 8 in commemoration of the anniversary includes numerous articles about the history of the Thirteen Towns. Historical sketches of the five villages of the district are presented—Winger by O. N. Snustad, Erskine by Mrs. C. E. Hopkins, McIntosh by C. T. Lanman, Fosston by Esten Moen, and Lengby by A. J. Saterstrom. The history of the Polk County Fair Association, which presented its first exhibition at Fertile in 1894, is reviewed by J. D. Mason; S. A. Jordahl contributes an account of the Northwestern Minnesota Singers' Association, which for more than a decade has played a part in the cultural life of Polk County; the story of the local churches is briefly outlined by Janet Hansen; the North Star Creamery and the Garden Valley Telephone Company are the subjects of short articles. Pioneer residents of the region contribute a number of interesting reminiscent articles. At Fosston the anniversary was celebrated from July 2 to 4. Its local

paper, the *Thirteen Towns*, in its issue for June 30 contains an interesting account of the opening of the district, which had been included in the Red Lake Indian reservation, to settlement, and particularly of the "rush" that occurred when the last townships were made "available to homestead entry" on May 1, 1896. Some early views of Fosston and of its pioneer settlers illustrate this issue of the *Thirteen Towns*.

That the Reverend N. A. Quammen exerted his influence to obtain the location of St. Olaf College at Northfield is brought out in an article in the *Northfield News* for June 30. It includes a list of members of Quammen's congregation who contributed to the building in 1876 of St. Olaf's "Old Main," with the amounts of their contributions. The list is taken from a ledger recently found among the pastor's papers by his son, the Reverend A. G. Quammen of Cyrus.

The history of the First Baptist Church of Morristown, which celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary from June 4 to 18, is outlined by its pastor, the Reverend A. A. Swanson, in the *Faribault Daily News* for June 3.

The seventy-third anniversary of the founding of the Bishop Whipple Indian mission at Morton was celebrated by Sioux Indians who make up the congregation of this little mission church on June 24. The history of the church, which was established in the early sixties by Samuel D. Hennman, destroyed in the Sioux Outbreak, and rebuilt in 1889, is outlined by A. A. Davidson in the *Renville Star Farmer* for June 29.

The history of Morgan from the days of the red men to the establishment of modern industries was reviewed in a pageant presented at that place on June 27 in connection with a community picnic. An outline of the pageant, which was prepared by H. B. West, appears in the *Morgan Messenger* for June 22.

A facsimile reprint of volume 1, number 1 of the *Duluth Evening Herald*, a four-page sheet issued on April 9, 1883, is an interesting feature of the fiftieth anniversary edition of the *Herald*, consisting of fifty-eight pages, which appeared on April 10. The story of the growth of the newspaper is reviewed by A. B. Kapplin, and sketches

of some of the men whose careers are connected with its history—such as Milie Bunnell, its founder, and Mr. A. C. Weiss, its publisher during thirty years—are furnished. An interesting survey of other Duluth newspapers from 1869, when the *Weekly Minnesotian* was established by Dr. Thomas Foster, appears in this issue. Among the other subjects of historical interest touched upon are the Duluth land boom of the eighties, mail service in the fifties, the growth of the Duluth park system from 1887, the development of the local police and fire departments, early days in West Duluth, and the progress of a number of local industries, such as ore shipping and the grain trade. The elaborate illustrations in this anniversary edition include early views of Duluth, street and water-front scenes, pictures of the buildings occupied by the *Herald* during fifty years, a group picture of the Merritt family in 1889, and an old view of the ruins of the American Fur Company's trading house at Fond du Lac.

A view of Chapman Street in Ely in 1888 and a picture of the Exchange Hotel which was built in that year are reproduced with a brief account of the history of the hotel in the *Ely Miner* for May 12.

The story of the emigration of a family from Germany in 1855 and of the settlement of its members in the following year in Sibley County, Minnesota, is revealed in a multigraphed genealogy entitled *The Altnows and Their Descendants: A Family History*, by Randall D. Altnow (1933. 31 p.). The compilation is made up of genealogical tables and of biographical sketches of some members of the Altnow family. A number of these sketches touch upon Minnesota pioneer life.

The history of Immanuel Lutheran Church of Gaylord is outlined in both English and German in an illustrated pamphlet issued in 1932 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the congregation (20 p.). Sketches of the church, its parochial school, and its societies are included.

A History of the Cathedral of the Holy Angels, St. Cloud, Minnesota, 1883-1933, compiled by Irene Dunn, was issued in connection with the fiftieth anniversary of the church, which was celebrated on June 6. From newspapers, county histories, articles about Stearns County, and interviews, the writer has assembled information about

the beginnings and growth of the Catholic church in St. Cloud. She points out that the earliest of these churches was established in 1856, by the missionary, Father Francis Pierz. The story of the church is divided into accounts based upon the tenures of its various bishops since 1883. A section is devoted to the cathedral school.

Local transportation is the subject of an article about the St. Cloud Street Car Company, by Wheelock Whitney and W. N. Bethel, which appears in the *St. Cloud Sentinel* for June 1. The writers relate how the line was built in the fall of 1887 and how it began operations with equipment that "consisted of two cars drawn by horses." Reminiscences of some of the people who have been connected with the company are included in the article.

Histories of the Swedish Evangelical Mission Church of St. Cloud, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary from June 16 to 18, appear in the *St. Cloud Daily Times* and the *St. Cloud Sentinel* for June 15. It is interesting to note that the church was organized in 1883 at Sauk Rapids, and that for many years its activities included congregations at St. Cloud, Bring's Quarry, Waite Park, and in other Stearns County communities.

A community as well as a church record is a *History of St. Martin's Parish, St. Martin, Minn.* (34 p.), since "St. Martin is an exclusively Catholic settlement." The pamphlet was issued in commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the parish, which was celebrated from June 11 to 13, and it reviews the history of a Stearns County settlement and its church center from 1858 to the present.

An unusually interesting project is a mimeographed "History of the Hancock Public Schools," prepared by teachers and students to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary in 1932 of the founding of the school (30 p.). According to an introductory statement, the work was started "as a history project" in the seventh and eighth grades, and "for three weeks the complete work of many classes revolved about certain aspects of this history." The narrative seems for the most part to be based on manuscript records, though it is possible that newspaper sources also were used. The history of the school from September 9, 1872, when the Hancock School District Number 3 was organized, is reviewed; lists of teachers, janitors, and members of the

school board are presented; the story of the "school plant" is outlined; and "extra-curricular activities," courses of study, and school finances are discussed.

A detailed history of Read's Landing, once an important port on the upper Mississippi, has been "compiled through the coöperation of the Woman's Progressive Club of Reads" and published in three installments in the *Wabasha County Herald-Standard* of Wabasha for June 8, 15, and 22. It opens with an account of the founding of a trading post on the site by Augustin Rocque, and of the arrival in 1847 of Charles R. Read, who purchased Rocque's warehouse and founded the village. Its early industrial development is described and a list of those who advertised in the first issue of the *Waumadee Herald*, the short-lived paper established in 1857, is presented. The growth of river traffic on both the Mississippi and the Chippewa, the beginnings of schools and churches, "pioneer justice," the effect of the Civil War, and the decline that began with the building of railroads are among the topics covered in the narrative. It has also been reprinted in pamphlet form under the title *Read's Landing in the Pioneer Days* (19 p.). The author is Captain Fred A. Bill of St. Paul, the writer of many notable contributions to the history of steamboating in the Northwest.

Nearly a hundred and fifty descendants and relatives by marriage of Samuel W. and Gideon H. Pond, the Minnesota missionaries, attended a family reunion at Bloomington on June 10. The history of this pioneer Minnesota family was reviewed in a pageant entitled the "Spirit of the House." The reunion marked the ninetieth anniversary of the founding of the Oak Grove mission by the Pond brothers.

The history of St. John's Lutheran Church of Minneapolis, which celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding on April 30, is outlined in a pamphlet issued by the church (20 p.). According to this account, the "first regular English Lutheran service in the great Northwest" was conducted at St. John's Church by the Reverend George H. Trabert in March, 1883.

A Dedication Souvenir (27 p.) issued by St. Matthew's Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. Paul upon the occasion of the

completion of a new Sunday school building in October, 1932, includes an historical sketch of the church. The congregation was organized in 1887 by the Reverend Edward Kaiser.

Members of the congregation of the Central Park Methodist Episcopal Church, one of St. Paul's earliest churches, celebrated the eighty-fifth anniversary of its founding from May 14 to 21. Among the features of the celebration were an exhibit of pictures and objects connected with the history of the church; a series of reminiscent talks, including one by Mrs. A. A. Milne of St. Paul, the daughter of William Pitt Murray; and a pageant entitled "The March of Time." The latter, which was presented at Harriet Island on May 18, depicted in six episodes the work of the Methodist missionary, Alfred Brunson, at Kaposia, and the origin and development of the church in St. Paul. In connection with the celebration an illustrated history of the Central Park Church by the Reverend Ernest C. Parish, its present pastor, was published (48 p.). In it the story of the church in three locations—on Market Street, on Jackson Street, and at Central Park—is traced. The account is of value not only for its carefully assembled detail but also for the broad picture that it presents of the expansion of the activities of the church.



